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13 November 1984

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MINISTER OF ECONOMY DISCUSSES SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Aug 84 pp 7, 17

[Interview with Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of economy and foreign trade, by 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Aql: "True Nature of Egyptian Economy Between 'Revival' and 'Recession'; What Are Real Reasons Behind Private Sector's Refraining from Using Allocations Set for It in Plan"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Where does the Egyptian economy currently stand in relation to its problems after the implementation of a number of currency and credit policies, the most significant being the policy of controlling the instruments of payment to stop the drain of inflation after which the increase rate in the instruments of payment dropped from 44 percent 2 years ago to nearly 20 percent in the past 11 months of 1983 and 1984? Has this policy contributed to stabilizing prices, or are there other policies which must be implemented to achieve the certain cure? Some people claim, just because they can no longer get loans and credit facilities as easily as they did before the establishment of this policy, that there is a state of recession and that all we have done is to reduce the size of commercial credit while channeling the largest possible portion of this credit toward the industrial sector. There is no doubt that the banking apparatus suffered at the outset from something to which it had not been accustomed and its profits declined. But now that the seriousness of its implementation has become evident, this apparatus has no choice but to give out loans to the production projects and to perform its positive role in this regard.

Do we have a foreign currency crisis? Some continue to claim that not all needs are met and that searching for dollars for imports is exhausting. Is this true?

How does the private sector perform a real role in development and what are the means to deal with the economic flaw in such a manner as to make the private sector embark voluntarily on investing in its country?

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of economy and foreign trade, defines here very clearly and frankly and with facts and figures the dimensions of all these issues and of the real revival whose signs have begun to emerge in the Egyptian economy. He also discusses the success of the economic policy in achieving its objectives.

[Question] After formation of the new cabinet, the government made known its interest in encouraging the private sector to contribute to development. What are the main axes for encouraging this sector?

[Answer] The fact is that with the formation of the new cabinet, one of the points on which the government is focusing at present is the point of giving the private sector a new boost in order to contribute in the sphere of production.

Studies are currently being carried out to correct the flaw in some aspects of the Egyptian economy--a flaw which obstructs integration of public sector activity with private sector activity. The tendency is to encourage investors to embark on private economic activities in a manner that reflects awareness by the private sector of the social dimension of the development process as a whole. Some steps have been taken through formation of the Higher Investment Committee under the chairmanship of the prime minister and through the merger of the Investment Authority with the Ministry of Economy so that they may be integrated with the banking apparatus, with the foreign trade policies and with the money market.

Basically, we must have a clear map of the investments, and this is what we are doing now in participation with the Ministry of Planning. The public sector and the private sector have been created to complement each other and cooperate with one another. We are currently studying all matters pertaining to the balance between the two sectors so as to make it possible to create a degree of interaction and of competition within the industrial and economic sector as a whole.

Efforts are required at present to deal with the issue of discrimination in the sale of the cost elements, meaning that it is illogical to sell the production requirements (such as energy and other requirements) at different prices to projects producing the same commodity just because this project is subject to Law No 43 of 1974 and that project is subject to Law No 159 concerning joint-stock companies completely owned by Egyptians. This is unacceptable economically. For example, the clay brick production companies (an industry that is important to stop soil removal) are sold fuel at the international prices whereas companies that scoop away [cultivable] soil to produce red bricks are sold fuel at local prices. What is more, some of the clay brick production companies are supplied at international prices while others are supplied at local prices. This contradiction leads to a weakened possibility of competition and of expansion. Why don't we make the cost the same, regardless of whether we agree on an international price or on a subsidized price. If we wish then to subsidize the final product, let us do so. The same goes for the yarn industry.

The issues of exemptions, of profit remittances and of calculation of the exchange price are also issues whose importance and impact on encouraging the private sector we may not ignore. We are currently moving to settle these issues in a manner that serves the public interest.

One of the aspects on which we must focus to encourage the private sector is that of providing the opportunity to create that class of innovative

businessmen capable of transforming the idea into a reality because the Egyptian businessmen's society is still a young one and most of the projects are individual projects which have a long way to go to develop. The government must help in training and developing the human element so as to make it possible to create a larger class of businessmen in the true sense of the word because we cannot encourage investment without the development of this group which is capable of making decisions. The issue of management is also connected with such development. To sum up, the issue of investment requires solidarity and response at the level of all sectors.

[Question] Do we have a foreign currency crisis and what do we say about the reports circulated in the market to the effect that obtaining foreign currency is still difficult?

[Answer] More foreign currency has been available in 1983-84 than was available in 1982-83. Foreign currency credits of 4.6 billion pounds have been made available to the private sector, compared to credits of 4.1 billion in 1982-83. Regarding open credits under the system of importing without currency remittance, they have amounted to 2,366 billion pounds, compared to 1,982 billion pounds in 1982-83, i.e., with an increase rate of 14.5 percent in credits opened in foreign currency.

To stress the truth, the volume of foreign currency we have is reasonable. I am not saying that we are in an affluent or prosperous condition. But we have not reached the position of hardship or tightness. It is true that we have to take precautions for the future and utilize our resources with the highest degree of efficiency in order to serve the development process and to finance the masses' essential needs. However, we cannot say that we have a foreign currency crisis.

As to the reports raised in the market, they have come from some units of the banking apparatus and from money changers whose interests were linked through speculating in the Egyptian pound versus the dollar, thus contributing to increasing the price of the dollar. But since establishing the new system to control the banking apparatus and to besiege the money changers, the dollar price has stopped rising, even though this has been the pilgrimage and tourist season, because the above-mentioned speculation in the pound has vanished.

[Question] What results have been produced by the currency and credit policy accompanying the plan--a policy whose most prominent feature has been to control the instruments of payment to curtail inflation?

[Answer] When speaking of the issue of prices in the Egyptian economy, it is beneficial to make a distinction between two things: first, we should talk of what is happening at the general level of prices as a result of the presence of inflationary pressures in the economy. These pressures are numerous, led by the rate of increase in the instrument of payment, the deficit in the general budget, the rise in the prices of imports and the presence of increasing consumption patterns. These causes lead to inflation in the sense of a rise in the general level of prices.

Second, the existing flaw in the price structure. In Egypt, we find that because some prices have been fixed for some time while others have not, the relationship between the prices that have remained fixed and those that have moved upward is a heavily flawed relationship. We are all aware of the flawed relationship among the prices of wheat, hay, bottled water and dairy products. All these are facts that reflect what we may call a flaw in the price structure because the relative general relationship among the prices within the Egyptian economy has varied due to the fact that some prices have remained fixed while others have moved according to supply and demand.

Thus, it is necessary to make a distinction between these two issues so as to understand the movement of prices in Egypt and to make it possible to establish policies that deal with these issues because there is no doubt that the economic policies have to be compatible with the nature of the problem.

Insofar as the first issue, namely the general rise in the level of prices occurring as a result of inflationary pressures, is concerned, the economic policy established at present represents policies that seek to reduce the deficit in the general budget and to reduce the rate of increase in the instruments of payment. There is no doubt that one of the most important reasons behind the inflationary pressures in a given economy is the rate of increase in the instruments of payment. As you know, before the plan was drawn up 2 years ago, i.e., in 1981-82 specifically, the increase rate in the instruments of payment was 44 percent. In 1982-83, the first year of the plan, the rate dropped to 28 percent. The statistics of the past 11 months of the current year of 1983-84 indicate that this rate ranges from 20-22 percent.

[Question] Is this rate of increase in the instruments of payment likely to lead to an economic recession or not?

[Answer] To start, we really need to underline what is meant by economic recession because the rule is to increase the means of payment at a rate close to the rate of increase in actual production. Because of the conditions of stagnation present in the various economic sectors of the developing countries, it is beneficial to increase the volume of the instruments of payment at a higher rate than the increase in actual production. If the growth rate is estimated in the plan at 8 percent, then the rate of increase in the instruments of payment is not supposed to exceed 15 percent. This means that the efforts exerted have not yet reached the acknowledged economic rate. However, we have taken a stride in narrowing the inflationary gap in the economy.

To say that we have brought about economic recession by reducing the rate of increase from 44 percent to 20 percent is not at all true because we are still implementing an expansionist policy in credit facilities, considering that the rate of increase in the instruments of payments is still higher than the rate desired in comparison with the increase in actual income.

It is normal that in a phase when the rate of increase in the instruments of payment is reduced, those who could get credit easily can no longer do so as easily as they did before the implementation of the new policy. But this

does not mean that the economy as a whole is affected by recession because the instruments of payment available are still higher than the volume that is required economically.

[Question] Some people speak of the availability of a surplus that can be used but that has not been used and that the proof of this is the presence of difficulties or obstacles in the face of using these monies and in channeling them toward investment.

[Answer] I would like to point out first that this cannot be an indication of recession. If we assume that these monies are taken to be invested in the industrial and agricultural sectors, then this means that the volume of investments will grow and, consequently, the growth rate will increase.

[Question] But the failure to use this surplus and the obstacles facing such use continue to be a minus.

[Answer] There is no doubt that the view that considers this surplus a negative aspect should be taken with reservation because we must first agree on what is the ideal volume for investments. Should we invest a reasonable volume or not? Somebody may say that we need more investment, and this is normal. But the absorption capacity may not be able to withstand large amounts of investment after which develop bottlenecks that ultimately lead to increased inflationary pressures. But this does not nullify the fact that there are at least opportunities to channel a part of this surplus toward investment. But the question raised is: how is this surplus to be used? Here, we must point out an issue: the responsibility of the currency and credit policy is to secure credit from trade and make it available for industry and agriculture. The banking apparatus and the state as a whole then create the investment opportunities so as to make it possible to absorb these monies supplied by the currency and credit policy.

[Question] But the commercial banks refrain from financing industrial and agricultural activities on the pretext that industrial and agricultural activities require long-range investment, not to mention their constant complaints that there are no agricultural and industrial projects.

[Answer] The existing currency policy has succeeded in channeling credit facilities toward agriculture and industry and the banks now have money for industry and agriculture. Here, the responsibility of the currency and credit policy ends and that of other policies--such as policies on conducting feasibility studies, policies for locating the sites on which to build factories and policies to develop businessmen capable of utilizing these monies--starts. Thus, the links for the investment of the monies become complete and the objective is achieved.

The fact that some surpluses have not been invested is not due to the failure of the currency and credit policy because this policy has performed its role in securing these monies. This means that the task at present is that of implementing the other policies we have referred to. Here, we must point out the condition whereby the banking apparatus wants to develop the currency

and credit rules in its interest solely and not in the interest of the economy. We must make a distinction between the banking apparatus' participation with a share of the capital of projects and its loans to industrial and agricultural activities.

[Question] Is it the responsibility of the bank alone to look for such projects to provide them with loans?

[Answer] It is not the responsibility of the bank alone, of the government alone or of the private sector alone. In fact, it is the joint responsibility of all. The banking apparatus can play a positive role (a role performed by many banks in countries such as India, Brazil and post-war Germany). The bank can announce its acceptance of those who present their projects--this is the counter-approach. But the bank can also say that it will form a special outfit whose task will be to try to determine investment opportunities and to present to businessmen studies to encourage them to build projects. The banking apparatus can unite through the Union of Banks in Egypt to put together strong consulting firms and to entrust these firms to conduct studies on projects, to advertise these projects and then to put them up for subscription. This means that the initiative will come from the banking apparatus, thus enhancing its effectiveness in the sphere of investment.

In addition to this, government agencies such as the Investment Authority, the Industrialization Authority and the Money Market and Stock Exchange Authority can cooperate to give investment a strong boost.

[Question] During the 2 years of the plan, the private sector has not invested the sum allocated to it. Is this because of restraint on the part of this sector or because of other factors that have discouraged it from making new investments?

[Answer] Saying that private sector investments have not achieved the objective set for them in the plan does not mean that we should conclude that there is a recession in the economy. All we can conclude from this condition is that the anticipated growth rate has not been achieved and that what has been achieved is a lower growth rate. We had expected the economy to grow by 8 percent in the first year of the plan, and it grew by nearly 7 percent. Generally, it cannot be said that an economy growing by 7 percent is an economy suffering from a recession. On the contrary, as long as the economic growth rate is higher than the population growth rate, the economy is expanding and advancing.

The complaint that the Egyptian economy is receding emanates from the trade sector. This point needs an explanation. The credit made available to the Egyptian trade sector is still growing at 1 percent a month, i.e., by 12 percent a year, which again means that it is growing at a higher rate than the growth in production. This expansion in the credit for commerce is enough to enable the sector to perform the role required of it. As for the trade sector not being able to get the same degree of credit which it was getting in the past, a credit amounting in some transactions to 70 percent, then this means that the economy is passing in this phase through a state of restraint.

EGYPT

NEW SPEAKER DISCUSSES ASSEMBLY BUSINESS, PRIORITIES

Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 410, 2 Sep 84 pp 26-27, 43-45

[Interview with Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub by Hamid Dunya: "Ideologies Are To Be Set Aside until Earning a Living and Free Speech Assume Their Place"]

[Text] Much has been said about this man who is a distinguished scholar, highly regarded not only in Egypt but throughout the Arab world. His colleagues know him for his nobility, his gentleness and his true desire to help everyone seeking knowledge or learning. He is distinguished among his colleagues by his modesty and his truthfulness, and he is known for exerting himself in the search for knowledge. He has dedicated himself and devoted his time and money to serve his country, to serve the institutes of learning where he is a dedicated teacher, and to serve the students on whom his life depends. Everyone who knows him testifies to his ardent patriotism, his sensible national commitment, his advocacy of social peace and his adherence to the objectives of national unity and the propagation of factors of social justice throughout the country. This was exactly what was stated in a report filed by the committee that looked into the state's 1980 honorary prizes. The man is Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, speaker of Egypt's People's Assembly.

It is a pleasure to know this man, to sit with him and to listen to him. I did all that many times in the course of our friendship which continued for almost one quarter of a century during which the mutual affection we had for each other had endured. This was a relationship that was not blemished by ulterior objectives and motives. I saw in his personality, his style and his history a part of Egypt that we cherish: I saw in him the revolution, and I saw in him equanimity and serenity.

His ideas were models of judiciousness and depth, and his contributions indicated his distinguished ability to analyze and establish firm foundations. His independent scientific efforts constituted a veritable addition to modern thought. The books he wrote were like a pure spring from which thousands of students in Egypt and the Arab world drew knowledge.

We met not too long ago, as we did scores of times or rather hundreds of times in the past. There was something new about this meeting though. In the past when Dr al-Mahjub talked, what he said addressed one's mind and appealed to one's heart. This recent interview hit all its targets just as his interviews did in the past.

What was new about this meeting was the device that recorded the details of the interview which I am conveying to all the people of Egypt. Through this interview the people of Egypt can take a look at the mind and heart of this steadfast Egyptian knight who confidently and competently assumes the role of speaker of Egypt's People's Assembly. The interview began, and the recording device was turned on.

[Question] At the outset we are to congratulate ourselves and our people, even before we congratulate you, for the confidence the president and the assembly have shown they have in you by selecting you speaker of the People's Assembly. Actually, the career of Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub has been full of positions that define the nature of his personality and his manner in making decisions. He is a man who hears all opinions. All this confirms that the present session of the People's Assembly will be new in every way, God willing.

Dr Rif'at, you are considered to be a well-known, distinguished figure and even an outstanding, illustrious personality by a broad sector of people who are involved in public service and in political activity. You are also regarded in the same way by those who are close to academic activity. Now that you are in the position of speaker of the People's Assembly, serving as an arbitrator, a judge and a guardian of the interests of our people, would you introduce yourself to these broad masses, and would you outline your personal career for us?

[Answer] I graduated from the College of Law at Cairo University in 1948. Then in 1949 I went to Paris, to the University of Paris, on a college scholarship to study for a doctorate degree in economics. From 1949 to 1953 I earned a special diploma in law in 1949 from Cairo University, and I earned two diplomas in public law and economics in 1949 and 1950 from the University of Paris. Then in 1953 I earned a doctorate in economics from the University of Paris. The topic [of my dissertation was] "Fiscal Policy and the Determination of Interest Rates for the Purpose of Achieving the Equilibrium of Full Employment."

I returned to Egypt to teach in the university. When the College of Economics and Political Science was founded, I was one of the first who established its foundations and traditions. I served as professor in that college from 1964 to 1984, that is 20 uninterrupted years. This was the first time something like that had happened in the history of the university. I was selected dean of the College of Economics three times: the first time was in 1971, and the third time was in 1981. So much for my academic career, that is, my career in the university.

As far as my political career is concerned, I was appointed minister in the Presidential Office in 1972. Then in 1975 I was appointed deputy prime minister in the Presidential Office, and I was elected first secretary of the Arab Socialist Union. However, my political activity was not restricted to that period of my country's history. I have been connected with the Revolution as an economist and a jurist ever since the Revolution broke out, and I've been taking part in legal and economic developments. I did that without joining the political organization at that time. But when the Suez Canal Company was nationalized on 26 July 1956, I joined the National Union and then the Socialist Union. In 1965 I was responsible for politics in the universities, and in 1972 I assumed

the position of secretary of thought and publicity in the Socialist Union under President al-Sadat. Then in 1975 I was elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union. Then I left that position and went back to the university until I returned this time to political activity as speaker of the People's Assembly.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, although by all standards this was a quick review of your career, that career does indicate--in fact it confirms--that you were involved in political activity for a long time. This moves me to ask you a question that I think I must ask. In past years was Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub interested in observing the activities of the People's Assembly and its speaker?

[Answer] Of course someone like me with a background like mine cannot remove himself from observing political developments, whether these developments are taking place in parliamentary assemblies or outside them. Whether I was engaged in politics or was working in the university, I used to follow carefully and closely everything that was going on in political life in Egypt and abroad. This was normal for me because of my political constitution as I mentioned.

The Speaker's Style

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker, you've always done that. When a university professor and a capable politician does that, he analyzes, measures and rationalizes. Will you share with us your evaluation of the assembly and its speakers in the past? Could you tell us in this evaluation what the assembly and its speakers lacked in the past? And accordingly, could you tell us what will the speaker's style be like in the current session?

[Answer] The point is not what has been lacking in the assembly and in the speakers in the past, nor is it what has been completed in the assembly and in its speaker in the current stage. The question is one of different circumstances.

In previous stages we did not have opposition such as that which we have in the present assembly. This factor makes a difference in the way the assembly does its business and in the role of the speaker. Before this assembly opposition was limited and political parties were not as powerful as they are now. Let's say that this new assembly is based on a system of multiple parties and on an organized opposition within the assembly. These conditions will necessarily make the nature of the assembly different, and the nature of the speaker's activity in that assembly will also be different from his activities in previous assemblies. This is not because previous assemblies were less experienced or less competent, but it is rather because circumstances made that difference inevitable. Accordingly, the new assembly has the distinction of having an opposition and a majority. That is, there are opposing opinions. That, of course, does generate fruitful and interesting dialogue, and that is something which we did not have in previous assemblies. Furthermore, when there is a strong opposition and a majority, the speaker has a new and different role. He has to play the role of an arbitrator who deals fairly with the majority and the opposition. It is through such political justice that a speaker watches over the success of the experiment. Therefore, although the conditions under which we are working place an additional burden on us, they give us a natural opportunity to succeed, and we will safeguard this opportunity.

[Question] What does the speaker of the People's Assembly think about the comparisons that are sometimes made between the People's Assembly and its speakers after the Revolution and parliamentary assemblies and their speakers before the Revolution?

[Answer] Comparisons are being made, but I do not want to portray matters inaccurately. There are situations that are difficult to understand correctly, and there are situations that are easy to misunderstand. This [observation] also applies to the assemblies we had before the Revolution. Some people think that they were democratic assemblies because there was dialogue between the majority and the opposition. But the existence of dialogue alone is not enough to justify describing these assemblies as democratic. This is because many times these assemblies did not represent the majority. In most cases these assemblies were falsified to bring the minority to power. We have never forgotten that the majority party in Egypt before the Revolution was the Wafd. But from 1924 to 1952, before the Revolution, the Wafd was in power for only 7 years. Can it be said in spite of that that these assemblies were democratic? I don't believe so. The first requirement for democratic assemblies is that they reflect the truth about public opinion. The majority among the people must be the majority in the assembly. This requirement was not fulfilled except for very brief periods. This means that in most cases these assemblies did not reflect public opinion in Egypt. Therefore, they did not fulfill the principal requirement for being called democratic.

The existence of dialogue between the opposition and the majority in an assembly is a manifestation of democracy, but it is not at all enough to justify calling such assemblies democratic. These assemblies were in most cases created by the king who used to seek the assistance of minority parties to form them. We all know that except for temporary periods of time pre-revolutionary assemblies were assemblies of minority parties. Can the assemblies of minority parties be called democratic when democracy is government by the people? Before the Revolution people in Egypt did not govern, and they did not form the parliaments that existed. It was rather the minority that formed these parliaments and governed. Thus, pre-revolutionary assemblies were minority assemblies, and in most cases they were not majority assemblies. Let me add to that a social factor. If we were to picture an assembly that was made up of certain classes of people and based on excluding other classes of people, can we consider such an assembly democratic? Can an assembly that is made up of feudalists and capitalists and that excludes the broad classes and broad masses of farmers and workers claim to represent the people?

Such an assembly represents limited classes of people: those who own property. In this social sense pre-revolutionary assemblies without exception were not democratic because they were the assemblies of social minorities. This means that pre-revolutionary assemblies were always the assemblies of social minorities, and in most cases they were the assemblies of political minorities. This is a true description of pre-revolutionary assemblies. Accordingly, this description as I said is difficult to understand correctly and it is easy to misunderstand. It has often been misunderstood.

[Question] That answer compels us to ask Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub about partisanship in the past and partisanship in the present. What does partisanship mean and what are its objectives?

[Answer] Partisanship in the past differed from the partisanship of the present because of differences in general conditions. The parties of the past functioned under British colonialism within a framework that was controlled by the king, by feudalists and by capitalists. At the present time parties function under the rule of a national society and under new social forces. Therefore, the role that parties are playing at the present time is essentially different from the role parties played in the past. In the past minority parties always relied on the colonialist's and the royal palace's power. In the past majority parties could never get to power unless their ascent to power was authorized by the colonialist, [even though that may have been] inspite of the royal palace.

Now, however, present parties function within a different framework under a sovereign nation and under major social change that has kept out the powers of feudalism and capitalist monopolies. This framework has brought the broad masses into the People's Assembly where the Constitution guaranteed at least 50 percent of the seats for workers and farmers. You will undoubtedly agree with me that the differences in these objective conditions must lead to differences between the past makeup of parties and their present makeup. It is certain that the objective of each party is to come to power. Otherwise, it would not be a party. Each party wants power so it can achieve its program; that is a legitimate demand. What is new, however, is that political parties in Egypt cannot attain power now with the means they used to use to attain power in the past. In the past political parties came to power through al-Dubarah Palace or through 'Abdin Palace. Now, however, power will always be attained through legal channels, through the elections and through the presidency, which is a national institution. Conditions are different; therefore, the nature of political parties is different.

The 50 Percent Ratio

[Question] This too compels us to ask another question that we must ask. What do you think about the 50 percent that is designated for workers and farmers in the People's Assembly? Why is this ratio [of seats] designated for them and for how long will it continue to be designated for them?

[Answer] The 50 percent ratio is quite controversial. Some people have even attacked it and said that it was a form of guardianship. What I would like to emphasize is that it is protection not guardianship.

The difference between guardianship and protection is that in guardianship the wishes of a person are replaced by those of another.

With protection, however, we guarantee that the wishes of a person are effected and are carried out.

We are not imposing guardianship on anyone with the 50 percent ratio; we are rather protecting the broad classes of people that cannot get to the parliamentary assembly on their own. In the past the role that farmers and workers played did not go beyond voting for a candidate. They were not allowed to become candidates, and that was unfair. As I said pre-revolutionary assemblies were minority assemblies from a social standpoint. It was the wealthy minority in society that ruled and the poor majority in society that voted for one person or another,

depending upon the political powers that were in control at the time. It was impossible for the majority to continue to be excluded from parliamentary assemblies while we claimed that these assemblies were democratic.

By the way, these parliamentary assemblies were not like those assemblies that existed in the days of Plato. They were not assemblies of wise men like Plato where only the wise gathered to express their opinions on the affairs of others.

Parliamentary assemblies are defined as assemblies of representatives of the people, the representatives of those who have interests. Workers and farmers have a right to serve on these assemblies so they can express their interests. When the social situation changes so that workers and farmers can get seats in assemblies without the protection of this provision, that provision will be dropped because it will become redundant and unnecessary. Therefore, the 50 per cent provision is a protective device and not a device for imposing guardianship.

And what harm does this provision do? Did workers and farmers delay any legislation that was presented because they were not able to discuss it? Workers and farmers do engage in such discussions, and they do so quite ably because they know where their interests lie. Furthermore, the number of workers and farmers was added to the number of groups. Nothing has been taken away from the qualifications of these groups; instead, a group that was not represented has been added. This is a group that has its interests, and it is a group that can protect its interests better than any other group. We've never heard of workers and farmers forming a bloc inside the assembly against a certain position. Instead, they merely exercise their democratic rights in the assembly just as other groups do. Furthermore, many workers and farmers are well-educated and have a high level of political awareness that enables them to enrich the democratic debate.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker: It is well known that since the Revolution broke out on 23 July 1952, Egyptian society has gone through numerous political experiences. Egypt had experiences with the Liberation Organization, with the Socialist Union and with the National Union. In addition to the political implications of all these stages, there were both social as well as economic implications. At one point these experiences encountered sharp criticisms, and the regime that was prevalent at the time was sometimes described as totalitarian and sometimes as communist. It was also branded or described as a closed regime.

Subsequently, we adopted democratic socialism, which we copied from the Austrian experience. This period was characterized by the so-called platforms which evolved into the system of parties that we now have. It also evolved into the economic liberalization policy with its pros and cons.

What is your evaluation, Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, of these experiences? What would be the strategic course for Egyptian national action that an evaluation and a determination of Egypt's actual needs at the present stage would point to? Also what is the strategic course that you see from the directions President Husni Mubarak is setting and the statements he is making in his meetings with the people's representatives and with all the popular executive and political leaders as well?

[Answer] The stages that you reviewed are normal stages in the lives of revolutions. When a revolution breaks out, it wants to make profound changes in society. This is the difference between a revolution and a coup. A coup means that a group of people comes to power simply to govern, but a revolution means that a group of people comes to power to change government itself.

What happened on 23 July was a real revolution in every sense of the word from a scientific standpoint. The army carried out its revolution which was met with broad support among the Egyptian people. The army carried out its revolution to change all economic, political and social conditions. What actually happened during this course is that the revolution was forced to resort to emergency measures to liquidate its enemies. To tell you the truth, when our revolution is compared with other revolutions, it is considered a white revolution. It did not do what the French Revolution or Khomeyni's revolution did. These two revolutions shed a lot of their people's blood. Quite the contrary, the Egyptian Revolution was reasonable. It was reasonable when it began. If it resorted to emergency measures that restricted freedoms, those measures were also in the nature of revolutions. I do, however, fault the revolution for going overboard with the emergency measures it imposed on itself and on people.

In the economy the Revolution was facing the idea of self-sufficiency. It resorted as we know to many measures to limit imports, and it placed restrictions on economic activity. That was a period of time that had its own circumstances which cannot be duplicated or restored. When the Revolution achieved gains and became stable, the second stage began under President al-Sadat with the relaxation of restrictions and with intellectual, economic and political liberalization. President al-Sadat thought about making a shift within the Socialist Union from having one opinion to having numerous opinions. That was how the idea of the platforms whose establishment I oversaw came into being. President al-Sadat also sent me to Austria where I met with Chancellor Kreisky to study economic conditions in that country and to set forth the ideas that could be found in Austria so we can rely on them for assistance in Egypt. I wrote a report about economic conditions in Austria that you reminded me of now. Those conditions are referred to as socialist democracy. President al-Sadat, may God have mercy on his soul, was influenced by what was taking place in Austria. He also admired Chancellor Kreisky. I took part in conveying what was happening in Austria to Egypt through President al-Sadat.

Then, as we know, the period of economic liberalization began under the influence of what was happening in Austria. My contribution at that stage was a memorandum to President al-Sadat in which I explained my ideas on liberalization. The progress that was made was normal: from restrictions to relaxation of those restrictions and from restricted relations with the outside world to an open relationship with the outside world. I would like to say that as we face this liberalization, we must call people's attention to the fact that the liberalization policy is here to stay because its purpose is to stimulate Egypt's economy and to give that economy a strong push.

Second, the logic that preceded the revolution and the logic that preceded the collapse of the British occupation no longer exist. If we were to recall the past, we would find that foreign capital used to exploit Egypt for the benefit of those foreign countries that controlled it, specifically Britain and a few other countries.

Therefore, Egypt's economy was basically subordinate to the British economy. In general, it was subordinate to the economy of western Europe. Foreign capital used to implement that policy which was set for it in the mother country. Even foreign investments in Egypt were nothing more than extensions of foreign investments in the mother country. Foreign capital was one of the methods of economic subordination that developed specifically between Egypt and Britain. This logic has collapsed; it has collapsed and will not be restored. It collapsed when British colonialism collapsed and when Egypt regained its will, its control and its sovereignty. Egypt can now seek the assistance of foreign capital which is beginning to understand the new situation: foreign capital cannot become a vehicle that would lead to subordination.

Consequently, we cannot think in the way we used to think in the past. We have to open doors to the outside world and to allow foreign capital to contribute to economic development, provided that this foreign capital adhere to development plans. It is here that we must ask for whom are doors being opened and for whom is this development being achieved?

Liberalization serves the interests of the national economy, and development serves the interests of all the forces of production, particularly the broad forces that are looking for employment opportunities and for an honest living. Therefore, I repeat what I said in 1972 when we were paving the way for economic liberalization: "We must not let ideological differences jeopardize people's opportunities to earn a living in Egypt. We do not want to lose sight of the individual in the group, and we do not want to sacrifice the group for the sake of an individual. We do not want freedom to be lost in the midst of chaos, and we do not want power to lead to despotism."

Democracy

[Question] What does Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub think about the statement that the measure of democracy in a state lies in the freedom of opinion it allows the opposition not the majority? This is based on [the observation] that the voice of the majority is the louder voice and the one with more clout, particularly because of overwhelming popular support for it. This observation is also being made in the context of the fact that all reform movements in all ages began with individuals who then became minorities that eventually became the majority.

[Answer] Democracy means two things: first, it means respecting public liberties; and second, it means that the majority and the opposition have the freedom to express their opinions. Freedom does not belong to the opposition alone, nor does it belong to the majority alone. Both the majority and the opposition must be free. Ultimately, however, the opposition is entitled to discuss matters and to reject [propositions], but it is the majority that has the right to make decisions.

There can be no democracy without an opposition. There can also be no democracy unless the majority has the right to make decisions.

Giving freedom to the opposition only means that we would have a dictatorship of the opposition, and giving freedom to the majority only means that we would have a dictatorship of the majority. These two positions are mutually exclusive with democracy. Democracy means total freedom for both the majority and the opposition. The opposition has to have the right to express its opinion, and the

majority has to have the right to make decisions. As I said in my opening speech for this parliamentary session, "Democracy does not tolerate the domination of the majority, nor does it tolerate the obstinacy of the minority. We do not want to exclude anyone, and we do not want to oppress anyone. What we do want is to rally together all the true forces that make up society."

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub knows that as a result of the recent elections for the People's Assembly the National Democratic Party and the Wafd party won seats in the People's Assembly. A third party, the Labor Party, got seats in the assembly when a few party members were appointed to the assembly. The Grouping Party, however, did not get into the assembly despite the fact that Dr Milad Hanna was also appointed to the assembly. The Liberal Party also did not get into the assembly. Is there a method by which Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub can deal with these parties that are not represented in the assembly? In other words, will the speaker ignore or overlook the fact that a Grouping Party and a Liberal Party exist [out there]?

[Answer] Actually, as speaker of the People's Assembly, the official action I can take with parties that are not represented in the assembly is limited. Naturally, a few meetings can be held with opposition parties that are not represented in the assembly, and their opinions can be heard. But this situation would be limited by virtue of my being speaker of the assembly. However, what is more important than this personal interaction is that I will always be willing to engage in a dialogue outside the assembly with members of the opposition who are not represented in the assembly, particularly since I have good relations with the leaders of those parties. Therefore, the personal interaction with the leaders of those parties that are not represented will be unlimited. The official interaction, however, will be limited by circumstances.

Clearing up the Confusion

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Egyptian citizens are suffering grievously from too many laws and from the fact that these laws sometimes contradict each other. Men who practice law suffer from that too. What will the People's Assembly do in its current session to clear up this confusion in the articles of the law as well as the confusion that exists between the people and those who practice law?

[Answer] That is true, but citizens are not the only ones suffering from the fact that there are too many laws and that these laws contradict each other. People who practice law also suffer from that. I was an attorney for a while before I was elected speaker of the People's Assembly. I had a lot of trouble keeping up with laws that were issued at different times and with successive amendments to those laws that judges and attorneys could not keep up with either. It is therefore expected that the laws will be compiled in codes, and each code will pertain to a specific subject. We could then remove the contradictions and inconsistencies that we find in these laws, and we could revise them and bring them up to date so we could make them more compatible with the life we are living. This codification process is an important process, and it is something the assembly has to face. We have to seek the assistance of legal experts, either university professors or judges. This is something that many people are urgently demanding, and we agree with them. We want to leave to future generations a neatly arranged and organized code of laws that would be easy to refer to. In addition, we would remove from these laws those flaws that

have to do with the subject they deal with. This work requires effort and should not be carried out in haste. It also requires time.

Our Problems

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker: If you were to look around you in an attempt to list the Egyptian people's problems quickly, which problems in your view would be the ones that would stand out? How do you expect the Egyptian people will deal with these problems?

[Answer] The problems of Egyptian society are the problems of any growing society. Therefore, these are numerous and varied problems that one cannot easily and fully comprehend in the course of one meeting. This is because growing societies have many problems, particularly since they face progress in different areas: in the economy, in society, in politics and in culture. Growing societies face progress in all areas.

If we were to give examples of these problems, [we would say that] among the most important problems that Egyptian society is suffering from are the decline in the standard of living of broad classes of people, the existence of hidden unemployment and the absence of technical workers in all areas. [The latter] has been a particular problem after thousands upon thousands of skilled workers left the country to work in Arab countries. Now we are suffering from two curious phenomena: we have an increase in the population and a shortage in technical workers. This is a situation that immigration to Arab countries is responsible for. This, however, does not mean that I am calling for this immigration to be stopped; in fact, I am trying to encourage it. What we have to do, however, is reconsider the makeup of the labor force so that the country's needs as well as the needs of the Arab world can be met.

Thus, a decline in the standard of living, a shortage in technical labor and the existence of hidden unemployment are among our problems. There is also the problem of prices, wages and productivity. Prices are high, and wages do not keep up with prices because productivity is low and production costs are high. Therefore, the economic problem is a multi-faceted problem that makes it necessary that we pay attention to productivity. This means that principal attention has to be devoted to industry and agriculture. When productivity rises, wages will rise and will catch up with prices. But any attempt to raise wages significantly before productivity rises, will force prices upward, and wages then will never catch up with prices. All these are major economic problems that require major remedies. In addition, population growth has increased the demand for services, and utilities now need renovation. There is much to complain about now in our utilities, and the reason for that is the population growth, not to mention the successive wars that Egypt was involved in and that kept Egypt from renovating those utilities. There are many problems that we cannot enumerate in one meeting, but these problems are quite briefly the problems of any society that is developing and growing. Accordingly, these problems must be studied in a scientific manner.

By the way, I would like to say that a society that has real problems, such as a growing population, a decline in the standard of living, a deterioration in its utilities, and a growth in the many burdens placed on the state such as subsidies and similar matters, ... a society that has such problems should not be bound by one or another ideology. As I said before we don't have time to waste

in meandering philosophical or ideological debates, with one group classifying every decision we make as one affiliated with a specific ideology while another group classifies it as affiliated with another. We don't make the decisions we make in the light of conflicting ideologies. We make those decisions in the light of problems that we want to solve. We want citizens to be able to earn an honest living, and we want them to be able to speak freely. Let's get together then without becoming engaged in those meandering, ideological, intellectual or philosophical debates so that we can pinpoint select, realistic solutions that would deal with the problems of this society. We want solutions that can guarantee people an honest living and freedom of speech. If this is a matter of earning an honest living and speaking freely, I would hope that ideologies would step aside until the matters of earning an honest living and speaking freely are established. Then, when everyone can earn a living and speak freely, we can disagree to our heart's content about ideology and philosophy.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, there are two phenomena for which the People's Assembly has been criticized in the past.

The first phenomenon is that of absenteeism. Assembly members do not attend assembly meetings; they attend only those meetings that are attended by the president or those in which important legislation, whose passage is important to the majority, is expected to be considered.

The second phenomenon is one in which assembly members leave their seats while matters are being debated and go to the seats of ministers to get their approvals on personal requests. How will the speaker handle these two phenomena? Is there a disposition in the assembly to amend the bylaws of that body in this regard?

[Answer] This is not a matter of amending bylaws. Order is not established by bylaws alone. This is a matter of having a sense of purpose. When assembly members realized that the debates that were going on in their assembly had become earnest and profound, they themselves refrained from such actions, and they maintained order and calm. They became engaged in debates that attracted their attention, and they participated in those debates. We will never resort to amending or invoking the bylaws in that regard because we don't have to do that. The response among assembly members to what we have to do has been considerable. Also their involvement in the debates and in the business of the assembly has taken hold of their attention.

The Ministers' Accountability Law

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, the Ministers' Accountability Law has been described by the opposition as a law that is missing even though it is on the books; will it ever be put into effect? Will it ever be possible to ask members of the People's Assembly to submit financial statements when they first become members of the assembly and then when the assembly is adjourned at the end of a session so that suspicion can be avoided and gossip prevented?

[Answer] The Ministers' Accountability Law was written to be implemented. There are procedures for taking action in this regard in accordance with this law, and no one has refrained from following these procedures when there was a situation

that called for them. Members of the People's Assembly are required by law to file financial statements when they begin their work in the assembly and when the assembly is adjourned. This is the existing statutory situation. It is a decisive and definitive response to all those who speak or whisper furtively or spread rumors.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker: Practicing politics, as is well-known depends primarily on information. It is accurate information that leads one to take proper positions and engage in proper practices. Is there among Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub's plans for the future a plan for the establishment of a data bank in the assembly to serve its members, to serve the interests of practicing politics and accordingly to serve the interests of the people? Will there be a data bank similar to that which the U.S. Congress or the British House of Commons has, for example?

[Answer] The world has changed; there is so much information that all of it cannot be grasped easily. Therefore, we must set up a large library for the assembly. We must have microfilms in that library, and we must also use computers so we can retrieve this information easily. No parliamentary assembly can function in a vacuum. It must instead, begin to function with the information that is made available to it. Therefore, in the present stage of the assembly we have to devote attention to the task of setting up a large information system that members can refer to easily. Members should be able to obtain information easily from that system about subjects that are pending and subjects they have to be familiar with. They must also be able to obtain from that system information about different political trends inside the country or abroad. This is essential, and we must never drop this matter from our consideration because it is one of the requirements for the success of democratic practice.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, as a university professor do you approve of students becoming involved in politics? If you think students may become involved in politics, do you think the university should be politicized? In other words, should students become engaged in politics in the university?

[Answer] Every citizen has a right to become involved in politics. The fact that a citizen is a professor or a student does not mean that he is denied that right. That citizen has the right to vote and also has all the legal and constitutional rights of citizenship. What concerns me as a professor who spent all his life in the university is that the university remain a place for learning and research. The university should stay away from conflict. Let students discuss what they wish to discuss, and let's not restrict their freedom. But I do want the university community to continue to be a scientific community that stays away from political controversy. Each one of us may become engaged in any political activity he chooses, but the university is not there to become the scene of conflict between parties. The university is a place for learning and research; it is a place where political opinions may be presented. No one should place restrictions on the universities. We teach political opinions in the colleges of economics, law and business. What I want most is that the university not become a scene of conflict between parties that would fight each other and exploit students in one direction or another. This does not restrict anyone's freedom; it preserves the integrity and the very essence of the university.

Our Relationship with the Arab World

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker: Egypt is the heart and mind of the Arab world. Based on that premise Egypt is the gateway to the Arab region. What are the steps that Egypt's People's Assembly is planning to take under your leadership to bring about closer and stronger relations with Arab parliaments and with other parliaments all over the world? [Will you utilize] the International Parliamentary Conference and political parties all over the world?

[Answer] Egypt's parliament is quite willing to establish broad and close relations with all the parliaments of the world. This is the nature of approximation and understanding between parliaments. There is no doubt that international conferences that are held by different parliaments provide a place for points of view to converge. They also give us a forum that we can use to explain our national issues. Therefore, we make an effort to attend these conferences. We also make the effort to have an exchange of opinions and visits between the Egyptian parliament and parliaments in the world. The relationship between Egypt's parliament and Arab parliaments is a relationship we cherish, and we are always willing to establish strong relations between us and Arab parliaments. By the way, I would like to say that we are not rushing the restoration of official relations between us and the Arab world even though we do care about those relations. But we do place emphasis on relations between institutions: between Egypt's parliament and Arab parliaments and between trade unions in Egypt and trade unions in Arab countries. If any Arab parliament takes a step toward Egypt, we will take a step too and we will do so quite happily.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker: After this lengthy interview in which you offered the people insights into what the speaker of the People's Assembly thinks about, will you tell us what a work day is like for the speaker of the People's Assembly, and will you tell us what a day of rest is like, if there is one?

[Answer] On a work day I leave home early in the morning and go to the assembly where I meet with assembly members or with visitors. Then I take part in the sessions. After that I attend to the daily business of the assembly. The assembly thus takes up all my time. I may tell you that since I began working in the assembly, I have not had a single day of rest. I may later be able to arrange matters so that I can have a day of rest as I should. That would enable me to get together with my family, which includes my wife; two married daughters--one of them is an instructor in the College of Medicine and the other is an intern in the same college--my 20-year old son, Ayman, who obtained a bachelor's degree in economics this year from the College of Economics and was appointed instructor at the college; and my youngest daughter, 7-year old Amirah, who is a third grade student in the Mere de Dieu [Mother of God] school.

[Question] Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Mr Speaker: is there anything else you would like to say to conclude this interview?

[Answer] Yes, there is something important I would like to say. In the present stage [of our lives], which is a new stage in our history, we are concerned about two important matters. The president spoke about these two matters more than once. At a recent meeting with a few members of the National Party who are

members of the People's Assembly, the president emphasized that he wanted to rally every patriotic Egyptian as long as that individual was working for the public interest. This means that we will not quarrel with anyone; we will not classify people; and we will not keep anyone out. If I wanted to attribute what the president said to a principal idea--and what the president said was true and must be preserved--I would say that we are in a period of time when we have to rally all our forces. We have to rally all our social forces: those who own property and those who work. We have to rally all economic, industrial, agricultural and commercial forces. We have to rally all political forces: the majority and the opposition. Egypt needs all these forces because we are rebuilding the country. That means that we need every thinking mind and every pair of hands that can work. We have no quarrel with any previous period in the history of the Revolution. President Mubarak has no quarrel with anyone.

The second point I would like to make is that we are also concerned about comprehensive reform in all areas. The two points complement each other, for we will not achieve comprehensive reform unless we achieve national reconciliation. May God grant us success.

8592

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POLITICAL CLIMATE HEATS UP IN EGYPT

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 395, 15 Sep 84 p 35

[Article by Yusuf al-Qa'id: "This Year A Hot Winter Will Descend Upon Egypt"]

[Text] The foremost concern for Egyptian politicians now is the formation of party alliances and new groupings to attract a majority in the People's Assembly, or to influence it. There is a keen tendency by the Nasirite Group to open the freedoms' file, which have been affected by the last years of the al-Sadat regime.

The day is 15 Sep 1984. On this day political Egypt ends its summer vacation and goes back to work once more. The vacation was important and necessary. It came after a hot, feverish summer full of concentrated political activity, when what might be called the reordering of the Egyptian house from within, took place in Egypt.

The political season begins with a meeting of the People's Assembly, after which the prime minister, Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali, will present his government's program for subsequent debate by the Assembly. The program includes the new General Budget which will reflect the new government's thinking on public activity during the first year of its existence.

Observers expect the economic situation to gain supremacy in the debate, and that during the debate, the matter of support and its reaching the level it deserves, will be raised anew. Add to that the matter of prices, especially basic goods' prices as they bear upon those of limited income, and they are the great majority of the Egyptian people.

On the other side, the parliamentary opposition, that is the opposition represented in the People's Assembly, be it elected -- the Wafd and Brotherhood opposition -- or appointed by the state -- the Labor Party opposition--, this opposition is getting ready to play its role. The two parties are as of now ready with queries about the recent elections, and what took place in the Egyptian arena will be a subject for debate in the Assembly.

The Wafd Party has questions to ask about the Red Sea mines and the "border" affair in Taba. This affair was brought up by the Wafd newspaper and to

which all the nation's newspapers responded except for the Al-MUSAWWAR magazine. Press coverage is not the same as a parliamentary debate however.

All Egyptian parties will have their annual conferences during the coming spell, the first being the ruling National Democratic Party which has its general conference at the end of September. It is expected to complete all its subdivisions before the conference.

The last of the conferences will be the Wafd conference which will take place January 1985.

The parties which did not gain entrance to the People's Assembly are also active from without. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the general secretary of the Grouping Party, considers opposition outside the Assembly decidedly possible and it would be wrong to consider the opposition as coming from within the Assembly only.

The Party of Socialist Liberals is busy rebuilding the party from the base up. In order to confront the negative aspects which led to the situation manifesting itself in the past elections, the party has decided to publish its newspaper AL-AHRAR, which is what is most distinguished in the whole party, twice a week, on Monday and Thursdays. In as much as newspapers in Egypt embody the parties' most prominent activities, the Liberal Party has decided to publish a fourth newspaper, SHABAB AL-AHRAR, in addition to an Islamic newspaper it publishes under the title of AL-NUR. Likewise, the Wafd Party has decided to publish a new newspaper, AL-WAFD AL-JADID.

The Islamic Nation Party has decided to publish its weekly newspaper AL-UMMAH on Saturdays...

However, the newspaper AL-AHALI, the Grouping Party organ, remains the best party newspaper in Egypt, as far as distribution and influence are concerned...

Of the political forces outside any party framework, the most prominent is the Nasirite current, which is getting ready to celebrate 28 September the anniversary of Abd-al-Nasir's death. The Nasirite current has two parties now: one, established by Kamal Ahmad, was rejected after submitting its credentials and is now awaiting the court's verdict. The other is being established now by Farid 'Abd-al-Karim. It has not presented itself to the Parties Committee yet however.

There is also the Future Party which was put forward by Dr Faraj Fawdah, the Wafd member who ceded from the Wafd, and who had earlier ceded from the Liberals.

Also there is the grouping which ceded from the Socialist Labor Party, and which is working now to establish a party based on the doctrines of "Young Egypt." It is being established by a threesome, Ibrahim Yunis, a well known journalist who resigned from Labor at the beginning of the

last election campaign, the artist Hamdi Ahmad and the journalist from Upper Egypt, Ahmad Farghali. As soon as they gather all necessary signatures, they will apply to the Council on Political Parties in Egypt.

The month of September holds much within its days, and its last day is the date for convening the court which will hand down its verdict in the Jihad Organization case. This case has been in trial from October 1981 until now, that is to say that next month it will have gone on for 3 years.

At the same time, the May Grouping, or 'Abd-al-Nasir's men to be more exact, is thinking of appealing to justice in order to lift from themselves the political quarantine decrees. This in spite of the fact that among them, as one of their prominent personalities declared to me, there is a tendency to "view the matter from a perspective of action against laws limiting freedoms in general. These are the laws enacted in the last years of the al-Sadat regime... The problem should not be a special case in as much as it should be a general one. First and foremost...".

The two coming seasons (autumn and winter) will be considered seasons of Egyptian calm..., but in spite of that, the rush of political activity, the opening of the prices' file, the verdict in the Jihad case, opening Egypt's universities, which reject many of al-Sadat's laws and take no position against the rule of President Mubarak, all these topics make everyone expect a hot winter this year.

12775

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NEW SUBWAY SYSTEM TO BE BUILT

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 76, 22 Sep 84 p 61

[Article: "It Will Begin Operating in 1990; It Will Be Able To Move 60,000 Passengers An Hour; Cairo's Traffic Paralysis Will Be Cured By Putting the Traffic Underground"]

[Text] Before the beginning of the last decade of this century Egypt will have built the first subway system in the Middle East and Africa. It will include three main lines within greater Cairo, a city of 8 million people now and 16 million by the end of the century. One of the three main lines will be used within the city to link the train service to the industrial suburb of Hulwan with that of Heliopolis making them a single line. The two other lines will cross the Nile between Shubra al-Khaymah and Bulaw al-Dakrur and between al-Darasah and Imbabah.

Greater Cairo--which includes Cairo, Gizah and Shubra al-Khaymah--is the only Egyptian city the subway will enter. But it will gradually be extended to the rest of Egypt's cities with populations greater than 1 million, beginning with the most populous of them, in order to solve the problems of transport and transit before they develop into chronic urban diseases as has already happened in Cairo.

According to the experts, Cairo's central subway will handle the traffic to the central parts of the city, about 60,000 passengers per hour, between Hulwan, the southern suburbs, Heliopolis, al-Marj and the eastern suburbs. This will reduce the number of bus passengers who cross to the middle of Cairo from 145,000 to only 40,000. The subway will absorb most of the traffic crossing between the outskirts of the city and the small amount of traffic within the commercial district.

The extent of the service which the subway will provide will be the equivalent of about 1,000 buses daily, or about 25,000 working hours, which represents an estimated cost of about 37 million pounds a year. This sum is more than the annual installment required to cover the cost of the project, which will average about 25 million pounds per annum.

Experts emphasize that the subway project means quick and comprehensive surgery. This will enable it to cure the clogged traffic in the Egyptian

capital's streets in which the "commercial speed"--the productive speed of transport vehicles--has been reduced from 20 kph to less than 10 kph within the streets of Cairo. This has increased energy consumption by an average of 30 percent above normal rates of consumption. The project will help to raise the commercial speed on the city's streets to between 30 and 40 kph, and reduce noise and pollution by 82 percent.

The first line of the Cairo subway, on which work began in 1982, will be completed in early 1986. Its function will be to link the lines of the Hulwan-Bab al-Luq railroad and al-Limun Bridge at Ramses Square to Heliopolis and al-Marj, into a single local line with a length of 42.5 km, which will include 5 underground stations: the Sa'd Zaghlul stations in al-Munirah, Midan al-Tahrir and 26 July. It will veer off from 'Urabi and Ramses streets, and the train will travel the distance at about 42 kph. This means that the trip between Hulwan and Midan Ramses will take 41 minutes, and between Hulwan and Heliopolis approximately 48 minutes. The line will operate an average of one train every 2.5 minutes.

Work will begin on the two other lines of the great Cairo subway. One of them will link the industrial suburb of Shubra al-Khaymah and the suburb of Bulaq al-Dakrur, both of which are densely populated with about 166,000 people per square kilometer. The line will have a length of 13.5 km, and will cross the Nile parallel to the al-Tahrir and al-Jala' bridges. The second urban line of the great Cairo subway will link the suburbs of al-Darasah and Imbabah. It will be 8.5 km in length, and will cross the Nile parallel to al-Zamalik Bridge.

Experts anticipate that once the project has been implemented the number of bus riders in the city's central area during the morning rush hour will decrease from about 143,250 passengers an hour to about 40,875, a reduction of 72 percent from current levels. This will help to reduce the amount of surface traffic by 81 percent in Midan al-Tahrir, by 58 percent in Midan al-'Atabah and by an average of 75 percent on the streets in the capital's center area and the commercial district. About 25,000 hours of otherwise wasted time will be saved by riders, which is equivalent to about 37 million pounds annually. That is more than the average annual installment needed to cover the cost of the project, which will amount to about 1.107 billion French francs, or about 110 million pounds. This sum has been obtained as a loan from the French government which will be repaid over 20 years at an interest rate of 7 percent, with a grace period of about 10 years after the beginning of operation. In addition, about 53 million pounds in local currency will also be required. A consortium of 17 French companies and 2 Egyptian companies will participate in the project's implementation. The consortium is called Interinfra-Arabco.

The three lines of the great Cairo subway will be built early in 1982.

Although we have been able to complete about 40 percent of the work on the first stage of the project, which will include the first line--Hulwan-Rames-

Heliopolis-al-Marj--the first train will not begin to operate before early 1987. The project will not affect the buildings on either side of the subway line. Various backup systems have been provided to assure the safety of the riders. Additional electric power stations are being put into operation with six cables to assure uninterrupted service and maintenance on the line. In addition, additional electric generators will be built on both sides of the subway, along with ventilation stations and batteries to run the units for 2 hours if they should go out of service. Six parking garages will be built on both sides of the line.

The subway's six stations which will be built will have a center to control their operations electronically, and a station for internal broadcasts. The trains will be equipped with a means of stopping automatically when one so much as goes through a stop signal.

This major surgery on the heart of the biggest city in the Middle East to end traffic jams will cost about 800 million pounds in all, to implement the subway's three lines. The job will take about 10 years.

9123

CSO: 4504/13

MIGRATION OF PEASANT FARMERS CAUSING AGRICULTURAL LABOR SHORTAGE

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 76, 22 Sep 84 pp 62-63

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Tawwab; "Agricultural Areas Are Being Deserted By Peasant Farmers; Import of Farm Machinery Is Being Considered"]

[Text] The causes of the peasant farmers' exodus are education, conscription and low government-set crop prices.

Egyptian villages are experiencing a labor shortage for the first time, in the wake of an exodus of Egyptian farmers from the field and the type of work. They are either taking clerical jobs in the cities or are finding work abroad. Egypt has thus begun to export Egyptian farmers and import mechanized farm equipment to replace farm workers.

The Egyptian agricultural sector has been seriously impaired by the exodus of farmers from the fields as well as from the nation. No one could be found to farm the land until farm wages reached about 5 pounds a day, compared with 25 piasters 20 years ago, and 1 pound 10 years ago.

The roots of the problem seem to have begun as a side effect of the social changes wrought by the 23 July Revolution on the structure of the Egyptian village, and free education which absorbed an entire population of farm children. Then came the second wave of the farmers' exodus on the heels of the October war when the state immediately rewarded the children of farmers who had been discharged from service by giving them clerical jobs in the government and the public sector. This was followed by the third wave of the Egyptian farmers' exodus from the fields and villages to the city, and from Egypt to Iraq, the Gulf, Libya and the oil producing countries.

When the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture began to realize the gravity of the problem there was no solution other than to import farm service equipment and to set up farm mechanization centers to replace the Egyptian farmers who had left. After all, the work was necessary, and the constitution guaranteed food on everyone's table, and both the Egyptian farmers and the Egyptian economy had to face actual facts. For the first time in history Egyptian farmers, who used to stick to their land, had become more accustomed to migrating. Moreover, the Egyptian economy

had begun to view the remittances sent home by Egyptians working abroad including farm workers, of course--as constituting a primary source for Egypt to obtain hard currency, in addition to oil export revenues, Suez Canal tolls and tourism.

Egyptian agricultural experts and economists emphasize that low farm incomes--particularly those of farmers growing traditional crops such as wheat, cotton, rice and onions--has been inducing farmers to leave the land and go abroad. Farmers had become the sole producers still selling their crop--cotton, beans, rice and wheat--at mandatory prices and subject to prosecution and large fines if their scheduled share was not delivered to the collection centers. Because of the [low] income on a per feddan basis crops whose prices are set by the state are no longer attracting a new generation of farmers. This is in contrast with farm service and labor, whose costs are determined by the laws of supply and demand.

But farm experts say that often a [seemingly] bad thing can be beneficial. The flight of Egyptian farmers to other countries may help to elevate the primitive methods of Egyptian farming to the level of modern farm mechanization. Modern service machinery will be introduced into Egyptian fields to replace the workers. This could lead to a reassessment of crop selection priorities in Egyptian fields, and the introduction of new crops.

For many years farm mechanization experts have consistently blamed the failure of the "small Egyptian fields" to use mechanized farming methods on the nature of the fields: the fragmentation of farm ownership into small areas, the nature of the land itself, or the crops. They continued to maintain that it would be difficult to spread the use of modern farm equipment. But faced with the pressure of reality and urgent need, all of these difficulties now seem surmountable. It has been possible to introduce fundamental changes in the method of dividing the land to control irrigation, in farm service, and in resisting plant diseases so that tractors and machinery can operate in Egyptian fields.

Experts on the national specialized committees in Egypt have called for the preparation of studies to find scientific and technical solutions to the problem of making Egyptian fields suitable for mechanization or to tailor the machinery to the circumstances and nature of Egyptian fields. It was also recommended that construction start immediately on agricultural and mechanical service centers which will rent out the equipment to farmers. If tractors enter Egyptian farming in large numbers then they must be multifunctional, not used merely for tilling, irrigation, threshing and transport. They must be able to perform additional tasks to help reduce farm production costs.

The consequences of the exodus of Egyptian farmers from the fields and the nation are not limited merely to higher wages for farm workers. It has begun to affect the competence of farm service which by its nature requires commitment to fixed schedules linked to the growth of the crop.

A shortage of farm workers caused a delay in the final stages of cotton planting and harvesting the crop at the appropriate time until the farmers began to abandon what they called the "second harvest" to pick the cotton crop because it was starting to cost more than it was worth. The wheat and rice harvests were also delayed in recent seasons, which also caused confusion in farm cycles and in cooperative marketing of the crops.

According to statistics which were unearthed to trace the roots of the exodus problem and to track the phenomenon's future developments, during the past 25 years, between 1960 and 1984, the population of urban areas increased as a result of waves of migration from the countryside to the cities. As a result, the urban population now represents 47.5 percent of Egypt's population compared with 38 percent in 1960. According to statistics on the emigration of farmers to foreign countries, while only about 1,000 farmers a year emigrated to Arab countries in 1969, the number suddenly jumped to about 11,000 in 1971, and to 23,000 in 1973. It then fell to 38,000 in 1976. On the basis of official registration figures experts estimate the number of Egyptian farmers working abroad at about 64,000 in 1983, but the number is much larger than this.

Specialists in farm economics see the following causes for the exodus of the Egyptian farmers from the fields:

Government meddling in the principal economic decisions pertaining to traditional agricultural production, particularly grains. This interference, which has taken various forms, such as limiting the areas which can grow certain crops, agricultural collection, crop cycles, mandatory price controls on certain crops by the farms, and compelling the farmer to provide shares of produce which would almost completely exhaust the entire crop. This applies specifically to cotton, wheat, rice and beans. This has caused a generation of farmers' children to feel that farming was no longer a profitable occupation. It also ultimately led not only to the mere exodus of farmers, but also to the exodus of all elements of production from the land, along with farmers and capital.

Major growth in the construction, housing and renovation industry has caused farm workers to turn to the more lucrative and attractive construction and service jobs.

The system in which farmer draftees are retained in national service for many years and are stationed in urban areas has accustomed them to an urban way of life. Some of them are retained in service for as long as 11 years. The system in which they are given jobs when they are discharged has also opened the door to a change from farming to other occupations.

Finally, the experience of Egyptian farmers with life in the city and life abroad over a relatively long period of time have allowed them to make an economic comparison between farming with its long wait for any income and the immediate daily wage system in Egyptian cities and in other

Arab countries. These experiences have also made them more accustomed to urban ways of life. This is ultimately what has led to the changes in architecture, the social life and the economic structure in rural areas.

As a result of the expansion in education since 1952, and the recently instituted lengthening of the period of schooling from 6 to 9 years, the age of students when they finish school has risen from 12 to 15. This has reduced the size of the farm labor force.

As a result, Egyptian economists and social scientists are diligently studying this phenomenon of the exodus of Egyptian farmers, for the first time in modern history, from the fields, from the nation and from their line of work to work in the cities or abroad. The goal of this research is to track, over the short term and the long term, the developments and side effects of the phenomenon on the Egyptian economy, and to determine how to confront the situation, whether by substituting mechanized farming or developing the farm sector as a whole.

9123

CSO: 4504/13

NEW FEES WILL INCREASE STATE REVENUES

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 2 Oct 84 p 8

[Article: "Fees Imposed To Raise State Revenues"]

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, the People's Assembly's Plans and Budget Committee, chaired by Dr Talbat 'Uwaydah, approved a bill which would impose new fees, called "state financial revenue development fees." These fees will be determined on the following bases:

1. Two percent on the net profits in excess of 18,000 Egyptian pounds which are subject to the commercial, industrial and non-commercial professional profit tax, salaries and the like, and remuneration to presidents and board members of joint-stock companies and to directors and members of controlling boards of limited partnership companies, figured on the amounts subject to the tax on income and transferred capital.

If the taxpayer is subject to more than one such tax, the fees shall be imposed on his combined taxable income in excess of 18,000 pounds as stipulated by law.

2. 20 pounds on the acquisition or renewal of passports;

3. 10 pounds as a fine for late registration of residence by a foreigner, late reporting of his lodging, departure or employment, or his not giving notice before changing his place of residence.

This fee will be raised to 50 pounds in case the foreigner does not acquire a residence permit or does not renew it. There will be a 5-pound fee for requests for residence or residence certificates, and on visas to return to Egyptian territory, and a 20 pound fee each year a residence license or card is issued.

4. A 5 pound fee for applications for Egyptian citizenship;

5. A 4 pound fee for departing Egyptian territory;

6. A 25 pound fee for acquiring or renewing weapons permits, to be levied on each piece;

7. A 50 pound fee for every permit for overseas work or employment with any foreign agency or authority or any foreign project in Egypt. There will be a 100 pound fee for renewing the permit.

Anyone working for a foreign authority in Egypt will be exempt from these fees if his total income does not exceed the exemption limits provided for in the income tax law.

8. A fee of 50 percent of the tax on automobiles with 2000 cubic centimeter engines or larger, and 25 percent of the tax on automobiles with smaller engines;

9. A fee of 5 piasters on every category subject to the stamp tax;

10. A fee of 75 piasters per page for photocopies of official recordings made at the real estate administration; and

11. A fee of one pound on each conscription exemption certificate.

The bill stipulates that these fees be collected in addition to the original fees and taxes, the entire proceeds of the fees to revert to the general state treasury.

8559

CSO: 4504/20

HEALTHY INVESTMENT ACTIVITY REQUIRES EXPANDED SAVINGS SECTOR

London AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-EGYPTIYAH in Article 29 Sep 14 p 2

[Article by Najib' Ghikri: "In Order To Set Investment on Course, A Special Long-Term Investment Bank Is Suggested"]

[Text] Former Deputy Prime Minister Dr 'Abd-al-Haziz 'Abd-al-Majid has called for reviving the idea of establishing a special investment bank into which bank surpluses would flow and which would finance long and short-term investments.

Speaking of the history of investment in Egypt, Dr 'Abd-al-Haziz 'Abd-al-Majid says, "The government's struggle with Egyptian entrepreneurs since 1952 has led to this group's departure from the economic scene, and to the emergence of another group intent on making quick money through speculation. The struggle with the government began when the government began considering the adoption of development methods which would raise the working classes' standard of living, making use of a systematic method of thinking in drawing up guidelines for the sectors and the general economy. The state felt that investors should shift from agriculture to industry. The private sector did not respond to this, so the agrarian reform law was passed. Even so, investors did not shift to industry, but to building luxury houses and apartments, creating a huge upswing in the construction of apartments in Egypt from 1954 to 1958. The government was not happy about this, and issued law after law limiting real estate holdings, which led to virtually negative real estate returns. It was then that the seeds of the housing crisis were planted. Investors shifted to speculation in commodities, and investment began to take the form of stockpiling commodities. The government prosecuted this activity, until private investors began stockpiling gold, and, ultimately, taking Egyptian 50 and 100 pound notes out of the country. This led the government to cancel the exchange value of these notes, making it hard to spend them abroad. This struggle was very costly to Egypt in the economic sense, and this round of the fight ended with the destruction of the private sector through the closing of the stock exchange and the nationalizations, and with the government's entry in 1960 into the field of investments. We must ask whether these investments have achieved the expected returns; whether the investments are directed towards those sectors most needed by the Egyptian consumer; whether they utilize capital, a scarce commodity in Egypt, in the best possible manner; whether they have generated enough income and productivity to keep pace with the population increase; and whether the efficiency of the private sector has not suffered from government restrictions, regulations and fiscal controls."

Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid stresses, "At this stage, we do not need ideology; we need to rethink solutions. It does not make sense to allow public sector investments, which amount to 40 billion pounds, to realize such insignificant results. We must support such investments in the small, feeder industries which the private sector could offer. The banks have a part to play here, but Egypt clearly lacks the first and last steps of the banking ladder. The first step must be the creation of a sector of approved moneychangers, and the last step on the ladder must be the creation of a strong money market on which long-term investment banks can rely.

"We could make a gradual start by expanding the specialized banks, such as the business, investment, commercial, real estate, industrial and agricultural banks, to prevent certain banks from monopolizing these activities. We must establish more of these banks, since we need a real estate bank in each governorate, and a land bank in each governorate which has reclaimable land. We must revive the idea of establishing a special long-term investment bank, because in the absence of this kind of investment the government was forced to allocate 90 million pounds for housing and 450 million pounds for animal resources and land reclamation in the 1980 plan. In other words, the state acted as investment banker. The commercial banks must expand their investment activity--a commendable activity within secure bounds, although it is difficult to determine the secure bounds themselves."

8559

CSO: 4504/20

BRIEFS

BOEING 767 DEAL--The newspaper, AL-WAFD printed a commentary on the Boeing deal in two of its issues that appeared on August 2 and 9, 1984. Since what the newspaper published was not factual, we are providing the following facts for clarification. Regarding the proposed contract for a loan between the firm and the American Export and Import Bank: after a decision was reached to purchase three 767-200 Boeing airplanes, the American Export and Import Bank was asked to extend a loan to cover 85 percent of the American component of that deal. The bank granted preliminary approval for that loan and informed Misr Aviation about the terms for such a loan. These terms were submitted to the Council of State and to the designated committee at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for their opinion on this matter. The Council of State made several observations on the proposed, forementioned offer, and these observations were sent to the forementioned bank. The bank agreed with some observations and held on to others. The bank's point of view was presented a second time to the Council of State, and the Council looked again into the matter in its session on 11 July 1984. The Council of State approved the bank's point of view on some points and held on to its own opinion on others. Talks were conducted with the bank on a number of questions, including the observations of the Council of State, and solutions were reached. After that, the bank was asked to resubmit its offer for a loan, amended in accordance with what had been agreed to, and the bank promised to send the firm a new proposal. This indicates that an agreement to extend a loan has not been signed yet, nor has a commitment to do that been made. This will not be done until the People's Assembly and the president approve the loan. Attempts are still being made to secure for the state and for Misr Aviation Organization the best terms on this loan. [Text] [Cairo MAYU in Arabic 3 Sep 84 p 11] 8592

SINAI TOURISM MEASURES--Dr Wajih Shindi, minister of tourism and civil aviation has decided that hotel rates in Sinai are to be reduced by 30 percent to encourage Egyptians to travel to Sinai. He also decided that the standard of services was to be upgraded and that international telephone service to serve Egyptian and foreign businessmen was to be provided in Nuwayba' so these businessmen can conduct their business. Mr Salah Disuqi, president of the Sinai Hotel Company and Sinai Diving Clubs, said that a decision had been made to carry out replacement and renovation operations at hotels in Sharm al-Shaykh, Dahab and Nuwayba'. He said these operations, which will cost 250,000 pounds, will include refrigerators, air conditioning units and kitchens. Quantities of water will be increased by using solar energy to desalinate sea water. An area in Sharm al-Shaykh will be prepared for tennis courts, volley ball courts, handball courts and ping pong. He said that a decision had been made to hold international competitions for underwater photography in the Gulf of 'Aqabah. He

said that a center for developing films would be built, and the area would be provided with Egyptian divers and technicians to serve diving clubs [in the area]. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 8 Sep 84 p 8] 8592

AIRPORT RENOVATION--Dr Wajih Shindi, minister of tourism and civil aviation has decreed that implementation of an urgent and expeditious plan to develop the airports at al-Nuzhah, al-Ghardaqah, Luxor and south Sinai was to begin immediately. This will be the first stage in the comprehensive development of these airports. The aim of these development efforts is to raise performance and service standards to an appropriate level for next season's tourists. There are indications that tourist activity is growing and changing and that new kinds of tourists seeking recreation and relaxation for specific periods of time will be coming into the area. This requires that those tourists coming from abroad arrive immediately to these tourist areas in south Sinai, on the Red Sea or south of the valley. The minister also emphasized that it was necessary to review sanitation plans for Cairo International Airport and the flow of traffic in areas for departing passengers. He also said that standards for services there must be improved. He recommended that the method used by cars entering and leaving the parking area be reconsidered so that present shortcomings can be eliminated. These decisions were made at a meeting attended by the minister. The meeting was also attended by Maj Gen 'Ali Ziku, first undersecretary of the ministry; by Dr Fu'ad Mursi, president of the Aviation Authority; Maj Gen Engineer Fahim Rayan, president of Misr Air; Maj Gen 'Abd-al-'Aziz Badr, president of the National Institute for Aviation; Maj Gen Kamal al-Muhammadi, president of the Cairo Airport Authority; and senior officials in that sector. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 5 Sep 84 p 1] 8592

DEFECTIVE AMMUNITION--The investigation into the storming of Banha Prison by central security forces has shown that the fire which broke out was caused by tear gas bombs that had been thrown by central security soldiers. The investigation revealed that the tear gas bombs were defective and that instead of spreading tear gas, they caused a fire. [Text] [Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 6 Sep 84 p 2] 8592

CSO: 4504/451

DARFUR'S MINISTER OF FINANCE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC PROJECTS, NEEDS

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 12 Aug 84 p 3

[Article: "How Has Darfur Faced Challenges"]

[Excerpts] Our citizens in Darfur are facing difficult challenges and fighting a reality imposed by the harsh conditions of nature.

For days, the news of the crisis in this province has overwhelmed all other interests, beginning with the president's declaration of Darfur Province as a disaster area and ending with the national and provincial efforts being exerted by the national and regional agencies concerned--efforts that help those exerted by the Darfur Regional Government according to its available resources.

To make all parts of the picture complete and to find out the role of the Darfur government is avoiding the danger of starvation or in reducing its impact, we have interviewed al-Tijani 'Uthman, the regional minister of finance and economy, to learn from him the regional efforts exerted, to explore the dimensions of the problem and to benefit from the positive and negative aspects of the experience so that we may all avoid such disasters in the future.

Since August 1983

The regional minister started the interview by saying: The signs of drought and of desertification began last year, With the intensifying drought, we began our efforts to control the situation. In August 1983, we contacted the national government in Khartoum. Our contacts took the following form:

1. We presented a report to the first vice president.
2. We prepared another report on the rain and crop situation and presented it to the central Council of Ministers.
3. We contacted the minister of finance to purchase quantities of corn so as to build a reserve in the province.

The first consignment of this corn was shipped to al-Fashir area in August 1983.

The regional minister of finance of Darfur Province went on to add:

At that time, we also made estimates for the areas threatened with drought, especially for the area of al-Sumayyat east of al-Fashir. This was done in August 1983.

But in September and October 1983, it became evident to us that the dimensions of the problem were bigger than all the estimates that we had made.

In light of those developments, we contacted the central minister of finance to raise the corn reserve needed from 40,000 to 100,000 sacks.

With the worsening of the problem in November, we asked that the quantities demanded be raised to 250,000 sacks.

The truth is that the minister approved all the requests in the various stages.

Regarding the 250,000 sacks, the minister agreed to reserve them from the stores of the Agricultural Bank after their cost was paid.

In other words, we were required to pay the cost to get our requests because the store belonged to the Agricultural Bank.

133,000 Sacks

Al-Tijani 'Uthman then spoke in detailed figures about what the international and local organizations and establishments have offered:

A quantity of 30,000 sacks from the Dutch government, of 77,000 sacks from the World Food Fund, of 15,000 sacks from the Kuwaiti Alms Fund, of 10,000 sacks from the Faysal Islamic Bank, of 1,000 sacks from the Solidarity Bank and of 600 sacks from the Sudanese Alms Fund. The total is 133,600 sacks.

We were able to ship and distribute a total of 80,000 sacks from the above-mentioned quantities to the provinces. We did this before the president's latest visit to the province.

Corn from Regional Government

Going on with his talk, supported by figures, the regional minister of finance discussed the quantities of corn purchased by the Darfur government:

In addition to this aid, the regional government purchased directly a quantity of corn, discounting the cost from the current budgets and from the development budget. The quantity purchased amount to 100,000 sacks, of which 70,000 sacks were actually delivered to Darfur before the president's latest visit. This quantity was also distributed in its entirety.

Quantities amounting to 41,000 sacks were also imported by private sector merchants.

Thus, the total quantity distributed since last September and until now is more than 190,000 sacks of corn.

Actual Need

[Question] If more than 190,000 sacks have been distributed, then what is the actual need after this?

[Answer] (Explaining some estimates, the minister said:)

We estimate the actual need as follows:

1. It is the estimate of the Food and Agriculture Organization that the 500,000 persons affected directly will need 360,000 sacks to feed them for 6 months at the average of 1 pound a day.
2. It is the estimate of the regional government that each family needs one sack a month.

Considering that there are 10,000 families affected directly, they will require 600,000 sacks over 6 months.

Upon comparing the actual need in either of the two above-mentioned estimates with the quantities we have received, we find that what we have received does not exceed one-third of the quantities needed by the citizens affected. This is why we have demanded more corn to meet the growing actual needs.

But Number Is Bigger

The minister then points out another fact, saying:

The above-mentioned figure (500,000 people) is not the actual total figure because the 500,000 are the people who are affected directly and who have migrated from northern to southern Darfur.

But there are others who have been affected indirectly and who continue to live in their areas. Even though they are financially capable, they cannot get corn. We must supply it to them, with their paying the cost, of course.

Another Problem

The regional minister of finance went on to say: In addition to all the above, there is another problem worrying us, namely how to ship the corn from the production and purchase sites to Darfur Province. For example:

1. The high cost of shipping from the production areas to the province's various towns. The cost of shipping one sack from al-Qadarif to the province is 45 pounds.

2. The problem of supplying fuel for the internal distribution of the corn. The cost of a barrel of gas ranges from 130-200 pounds.

These are cost elements added to the problems of availability and shipping. The higher the fuel prices rise, the higher the costs of shipping go and the problem thus becomes more and more complex.

Free or for Price

[Question] How is the corn distributed to the districts, and is there direct supervision over the process?

[Answer] When the corn is delivered, we distribute it to the district councils according to the population density of the districts and to the degree of the impact of the drought.

A popular and official committee has been formed in every district and this committee takes the oath to operate with impartiality and honesty. This committee distributes the corn to the councils closest to it. The councils then distribute the corn to the citizens after setting the distribution sites and preparing lists of the needy. We distribute the corn either free or for a price after studying the conditions of all the families affected.

As I have already pointed out, we have distributed 190,000 sacks, including 87,000 sacks free of charge and the rest for a price.

Current Situation

Concluding his interview with us, al-Tijani 'Uthman, the Darfur Province minister of finance and economy, touched on some of the urgent needs under the current circumstance, saying:

We need additional quantities to get us through until the end of the fall-- that is, the end of October.

He then added: At our meetings with the gentlemen members of the Higher National Committee formed by His Excellency the Leader President and with the distribution committee formed by this higher committee, they reviewed the need estimates, the method of distribution in the province and the measures to combat smuggling and were reassured about all the efforts exerted.

They added more members from the armed forces to the distribution committees.

These committees will distribute the quantities of corn which His Excellency the President has agreed to help us with, a quantity estimated at 150,000 sacks as a first consignment.

8494

CSO: 4504/436

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROBLEMS VIEWED

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 38, Oct 84 pp 30-35

[Report by Mustapha Shirazi and Ahmed Menai]

[Text] Last January's riots in Tunisia bewildered and disappointed western tourists, who had thought the country to be calm and stable. Many Tunisians felt the same disappointment, and feared for the future of their country, in which yawning social differences and moral ills have resulted in the emergence of disparate, sometimes violent, trends.

The continuing crisis is not a new development. Ben Salah's cooperation system of the 1960s led to revolts in 1969. These were contained, as the ruling Destour party was still strong and the riots were confined to the countryside. However, the 1978 trade-union-led agitation for labour organization independence caused a major crisis, which precipitated the intervention of the army.

This trouble died down with the liberation of the UCT union leaders in 1980, and the holding of an independent labour congress. But in January 1981 a group of Tunisian dissidents, armed by Libya and allegedly supported by the Algerian secret service, attempted to occupy the south Tunisian town of Gafsa with a view to staging a coup. The dissidents were arrested, thanks to French support.

At the same time Mohamed Mzali succeeded Haddi Nouira as premier, Mzali understood the lesson to be learned from the coup attempt and, with the advice of France and the United States, moved cautiously in the direction of a selective political pluralism.

The January crisis, the impact of which is still being felt, has more serious implications than the previous ones, because it was basically a 'revolt of the poor': the slum-dwellers, the unemployed and outcasts from the educational system. The bread riots coincided with a clear disintegration of the ruling Socialist Destour Party (PSD), a break-up hastened by President Bourguiba's increasing age.

Widespread unease and frustration led to the emergence of different political groups, unofficial but tolerated. The Tunisian Communist Party (PCT) was the

first to be legalised, on July 14, 1981, while the Islamists were still being tracked down. The authorities believed the lifting of the ban on the PCT, which had been outlawed since 1963, would mobilise the communists alongside Bourguiba's PSD [word indistinct] fight against the Islamists. But the communists were neutralised by the latter, and it was other groups which started playing the PSD's game while maintaining a semi-clandestine existence.

A couple of years later, two further parties were officially recognised. The first was the Socialist Democrats Movement (MDS). Its leader, Ahmed Mestiri, a man of great influence and well known in the West, was a former official of the PSD. The MDS was not legalised after the October 1981 legislative elections, in which it did not get the required four per cent of the votes. These elections were said to have been rigged by the government.

Since then the MDS has remained a party of wealthy bourgeois members, who are reportedly ready to make a wide range of concessions and compromises in return for some seats in parliament. The party appears to have no serious programme, and is undermined by internal quarrels which have caused many of its members to join the ruling PSD.

The second party recognised was the Popular Unity Movement II (MUP-II), led by Mohamed bel Haj Amor. MUP-II seceded from MUP-I, which was founded by the socialist Ahmed ben Salah, now in exile. MUP-II seems not have a clear programme, either, while MUP-I appears to have few members in the Tunisian administration, and its chances of becoming a major party if it is legalised one day seem slim.

Three political groups are still seeking recognition; the Arab Nationalist Rally (RNA), which has an almost non-existent membership and audience, as its closeness to Qaddafi has resulted in political isolation and popular mistrust; the Socialist Rally (RS), which is led by young Marxists who broke away from the mainstream communists, and whose membership is confined to intellectual circles, and finally, the Islamic Trend Movement (ITM), the result of Islamic activism during the 1970s.

The ITM leaders were imprisoned in July 1981 on clearly trumped up charges, and its militants were tracked down relentlessly until recently, when all its jailed members were released. The Islamists have adopted a political programme which, for the time being, consists solely of the guiding principles of Islam. However, neither the ITM's absence of a more detailed programme nor the repression of its members have affected its importance. On the contrary, these apparent hindrances seem to have enhanced its credibility and subsequently strengthened its popular base.

This was recognised by the Mzali government, which appears to have realised that repression cannot kill ideas. The release of ITM's leaders was secured on July 31 this year, and some ITM officials expect the party to be officially recognised within a year. After all, the regime has to take note of what is generally considered as Tunisia's largest activist political force in opposition.

However, political activity is also found at the level of trade unionism. The important labour organisation UGTT, which has long monopolised trade union action, has been going through a crisis. Headed by a reportedly senile and authoritarian president, it was not able to revise its strategy in time, and as a result split in two early this year.

The breakaway organisation, the Labour National Union (UNT), was founded last January by seven former trade unionists who had been expelled from the UGTT. This did not displease the authorities, because a weakened trade union movement benefits the Socialist Destour Party--which has ruled for nearly 30 years--and aids the latter's efforts to enhance its deteriorating position.

Last March, the PSD celebrates the 50th anniversary of its creation. Its long lifespan is a rare achievement in the Third World, and is due more to the dominant personality of its leader, Bourguiba, than to its programme. But its founder is now over 80, and ill, and this has intensified the rivalry for succession, as various clans vie with each other. As yet, no powerful, charismatic figure has emerged as an obvious successor to Bourguiba.


One faction has already fallen from grace with the ousting and then self-exile of the former interior minister, Driss Guigua, who was held responsible for last January's bread revolt. Although at least two other ministers have been unofficially vying for the presidency since the beginning of the year, Premier Mzali has been consolidated in his post and, under the constitution, will replace the head of state, if and when he dies, until the end of the five-year presidential term.

Meanwhile the race for succession cannot ignore the many problems the country is facing. The death sentences passed against teenagers from poor backgrounds accused of murder during the January riots sent shudders across the country, casting serious doubts over the government's sincerity in promoting a genuine democratic process, and leading to a radical mistrust in and campaign against the legal process. The aftermath of the riots and the death sentences is still felt in the country, and demands clear and radical attitudes towards many issues.

The Mzali government has realised the seriousness of the situation, and made some conciliatory gestures. Bourguiba eased tension by commuting the death sentences against the bread rioters to life imprisonment. The Islamic Trend Movement's leaders were released, and preparations are being made to allow Tunisian political exiles like Ahmed ben Salah to return home (see Arabia, September). Furthermore, in a discussion with some independent intellectuals a few months ago, the prime minister announced his intention to restore individual and press freedoms through legislation. However, the social atmosphere will improve only when these intentions are implemented, and when ITM, potentially the largest opposition force, is legalised.

Only then can the country pull itself together and tackle the still acute economic problems which have been one of the many contributory factors to the tension in society. Nevertheless, the rise in the price of many commodities since June is certainly not conducive to stability, and the future remains uncertain.

Spectre of Qaddafi Looms Over Tunis Calculations

 Tunisia's foreign policy, its officials say, is determined by the fact that the country belongs to the Arab world, to Africa and to the Mediterranean area. Over recent years developments in the Maghreb have made this area a great focus of Tunisia's foreign policy.

In the first years of independence Tunisia's role in the wider Arab world was quite limited. At the time, the authorities regarded the Mashreq (the Arab East) as a source of instability and of additional problems which the fledgling Tunisian state had nothing to do with. President Bourguiba also bore a grudge against the Arab League which was very slow in recognising him as leader of the nationalist movement when he fled to Cairo in spring 1945. Moreover, Bourguiba always felt closer to the West.

The Tunisian leader maintained a symbolic presence in the Arab area before withdrawing from the Arab League, which he considered to be too much under Nasser's influence. The regime's interest in the Arab world – and its League – was revived after Nasser's death and since the emergence of the Gulf oil states.

Tunisia's relations with Africa are not that important despite the regime's pronouncements.

Tunisia plays a small role in the continent through the Organisation of African Unity, of which it is a founding member. It has also been the headquarters of the Organisation of African Socialist Parties since 1982 and has often hosted events like last February's Arab-African Parliamentary Conference. Furthermore, the Tunisian Cooperation Agency often sends technicians to black Africa. Nevertheless these official involvements do not reflect the role the country has played historically in the continent, especially in training and trade.

Nowadays Tunisia plays a role in proportion to its means – and to its interests. Its interests since independence have been seen in relation to the West in general and France in particular.

After independence in 1956, Tunisia did not break away from France entirely. On the contrary, close cooperation with Paris was the cornerstone of Bourguiba's political doctrine even during the fight for independence, and continues to be so. The president relied on France not only to help in his country's development, but to

protect him, in case of internal or regional trouble.

France's privileged position in Tunisia's foreign policy has been strengthened by events in spite of some serious – although rare – crises between the two countries. The 1961 Bizerte crisis followed French reprisal bombings of the Tunisian border areas sheltering Algerian mujahideen.

After 1961, Tunisia drew even closer to the West in general and the US in particular. A formula was then seriously considered to involve Tunisia in Nato, given its strategic position offering surveillance possibilities for the Mediterranean, Africa and the Middle East. Tunisia has remained with the West against all odds and its social and economic development policies have been, since the early 1970s, based on western-style liberalism. This attitude could not leave Boumedienne's socialist Algeria and Qaddafi's revolutionary Libya indifferent: and Bourguiba had to take these two countries into account in his diplomacy.

On January 12, 1974, Bourguiba and Qaddafi met in the Tunisian tourist island of Jerba and signed an agreement for union between Tunisia and Libya, to be called the Islamic Arab Republic. The agreement was denounced the next day by Bourguiba, following a strong, hostile reaction to it by Algeria, which was keen to keep the Libyan leader at a distance. Mohamed Masmoudi, the foreign minister who had arranged for the accord, was immediately dismissed, but the Tunisian about turn has weighed heavily on Tunis-Tripoli relations ever since.

The Libyans have celebrated the aborted union every year, celebrations which are accompanied by threats, attempts at destabilisation and the enrolment of Tunisians in the Libyan Islamic Legion. The major Libyan action against Tunisia came in January 1981 when Tunisian nationals, armed by Libya and allegedly helped by the Algerian secret service, attempted to occupy the town of Gafsa and stage a coup d'état.

Ever since, Tunisia's foreign policy has been shaped and carried out in the light of possible Libyan reactions. Given its precarious economic situation, Tunisia cannot afford the return of thousands of its nationals working in Libya. Each time Tripoli opposed a possible course of action by Tunis, the Tunisians have to

calculate the risks involved. Qaddafi did not oppose the transfer of the Arab League from Cairo to Tunis but, while he could not expect to host it himself, he would have liked to see it elsewhere because, he believed, its presence in the Tunisian capital gave too much immunity to his neighbour.

Similarly, before the Tunisian government agreed to receive the PLO evacuees from Beirut, Bourguiba obtained Arab and western guarantees that Tunisia would not suffer the wrath of the Libyan leader, whose relations with the PLO are very bad. Yet in an apparent move to appease the Libyans, who considered the Tunisian welcome of the PLO leader Yasser Arafat an unfriendly action, official PLO meetings were shifted to neighbouring Algeria. In subsequent differences Tunisia also sought to calm its powerful eastern neighbour.

Algeria's leader, Houari Boumedienne, helped the fallen Tunisian economy minister, fellow socialist Ahmad Ben Salah, to escape Bourguiba's anger after the failure of the cooperative system in 1969. Boumedienne has not concealed his desire to see the strongly pro-American Tunisian regime committed instead to his socialist ideals. It was not until President Chadli took over in 1979 and Algeria's hardline policy softened that relations with the Tunisians began to improve steadily.

By 1983 Tunisia had enough grounds to believe in the sincerity of the Chadli regime to promote genuine bilateral cooperation based on mutual respect. The steady improvement between the two countries resulted in the Treaty of Fraternity and Concord on March 19, 1983. However, was this not provocation for Colonel Qaddafi after Tunisia had bowed to Algerian pressure over the Jerba agreement?

The treaty stipulates that it is open to all other Maghreb countries. In reality, only Mauritania's membership was accepted. Libya's repeated request to join has met with Algerian opposition. The latter asked Tripoli to settle their joint border problem beforehand. This was one of the reasons which led Qaddafi to normalise relations in 1983 with Morocco, to which Libya had hitherto been fiercely opposed.

July's union agreement between King Hassan's monarchy and Qaddafi's revolutionary regime was, from the

Libyan side, a way to by-pass the Algerian-Tunisian treaty and, at the same time, place on Algeria the burden of alone aiding the Polisario guerrillas. Without antagonising the Libyan leader, the Tunisians maintained that the long-prepared Treaty of Fraternity and Concord remained the ideal framework for Maghreb unity.

However, Mauritania's adherence to the treaty strained otherwise friendly Tunisian-Moroccan relations: first, because Nouakchott had been at odds with Morocco, especially since Mauritania recognised Polisario's Sahraoui Republic (SADR), and secondly because the Moroccans may have seen in the Algerian-Tunisian treaty an axis that would shift the balance of power in favour of Algeria.

However, for the Tunisians, the Moroccan monarchy will remain important in inter-Maghreb relations and a counterweight to any Algerian will for hegemony. They consider that it was the Algerian regime's gradual moderation over the last five years which made possible Tunis's rapprochement with Algiers and that this represents an Algerian move towards their position, not the reverse.


Such a rapprochement was apparently welcomed by Tunisia's western allies, as well as by its friends in the Middle East. For France and the US the move increases Algeria and Tunisia's ability to resist both the Islamic movement and Qaddafi. This explains the reported offer from Paris and Washington of increased assistance to Tunisia following the signing of the treaty.

Tunisia does not have the means to take significant diplomatic initiatives at the international and Arab levels, in spite of the presence of the Arab League headquarters in its capital. It seeks only to be present everywhere and to advise moderation to whoever wishes to listen. It generally takes the side of the majority of the rich and influential Arab states in, for instance, supporting the PLO, or backing Iraq in the war against Iran. If it did not support Egypt's return to the Arab League during last January's Casablanca Summit conference, this is mainly because it did not wish to provoke Colonel Qaddafi. In reality Tunis had never broken its ties with Cairo in spite of the official position.

This cautious policy, observers say, does not satisfy a growing number of Tunisians who advocate a political radicalisation, especially in view of the repeated, unpunished Israeli aggression against the Arabs and the increasing influence of Zionism on the world scene.

Such radicalisation has been mainly the work of the Islamic Trend Movement.

January Riots Blow an Ailing Economy Even Further Off Course

 The dismissals on June 18 and October 13 1983 of Mansour Moalla, minister of planning and finance, and of Azzouz Lasram, minister of economy, right in the middle of the Sixth Year Plan, testifies to the serious crisis that has affected the Tunisian economy for the past three years and to the lack of an adequate policy to overcome it.

A note to the Council of Ministers in June 1981 stressed the "expected difficulties and many deviation risks" in the ambitious development scheme. Under the plan, investments were to be reallocated in favour of labour-intensive projects, agricultural production was to increase by 5 per cent and consumption to fall by 6.7 per cent.

In the planners' mind, these measures would promote "a relatively tolerable general balance" characterised by:

- a real increase in Gross Domestic Product of 6.8 per cent, against 6.6 per cent in the Fifth Plan;
 - creation of 260,000 new jobs to meet 80 per cent of extra employment demand;
 - National savings of 22 per cent of GDP, the same as Fifth Plan;
 - efforts to boost foreign investment to TD3,000m, 21.9 per cent of the total investment required to carry out the plan.
- When the plan is complete in 1986 this is expected to reduce the national debt from 14.9 per cent to 13.5 per cent.

The current plan sets new trends even if it is in many ways similar to previous ones. In the 1970s for example, consumption increased by 8.2 per cent while GDP increased by just 7 per cent. The government of Prime Minister Mzali bears some of the responsibility for the fact that the nation consumed more than it produced, it refused to implement corrective measures and, in order to boost its popularity, granted the unions large wage increases unjustified even by the high inflation rate.

Mzali also refused to increase some prices gradually, especially those of bread and cereals, thereby placing severe pressure on the fund, already in deficit, from which subsidies are paid. Eighteen months ago the prime minister appeared on television to contradict his finance minister and promise to freeze such prices for a year: then in December 1983, he increased them by a massive 108 per cent. This led to last January's bread riots.

In March, the Tunisian parliament quashed the decision. It found the means

to absorb the deficit in the subsidy fund and enable it to continue subsidising essential commodities.

In order to find the TD106m necessary to replenish the subsidy fund, large price increases in products judged to be non-essential were proposed. Petrol prices were increased, along with customs duties (from 40 to 400 per cent).

The tourist sector, which brings in an average of more than TD400m in foreign currency each year is bound to be affected by these increases. This is all the more serious since there are fewer tourists because of the European recession. New facilities and luxury hotels have been built to attract Arab tourists but their number has not compensated for the additional expense. Algerian visitors come in great numbers but they cannot afford to stay in the top class hotels which have been built in Tunisia in the past 20 years.

Many sectors of the fragile Tunisian economy are based on imported raw materials or semi-manufactured products, and will be deeply affected by the increase in customs duties. Moreover, some of them may have difficulties in obtaining import licences: lack of foreign currency means that the Central Bank cannot oblige them all.

Likewise, Tunisian agriculture, which supplies 50 per cent of the population's needs, is racked by structural malfunctions – which will be aggravated by these new measures. In addition, the country produces a host of products meant for export which the European countries – Tunisia's foremost trading partners – no longer want since the northern Mediterranean countries became EEC members. The oil and minerals sector is also hit by the slump in world prices.


Emigration is no longer a safety valve. Tunisia has about 400,000 nationals abroad – 250,000 in France and 120,000 in Libya – and cannot "export" any more. Exchange controls in several host countries, particularly France, have made it increasingly difficult for these migrants to send money home.

The government proposes, at least in the speeches its members make, to boost agriculture. The aims are to make the country self-sufficient in food and to establish agriculture as a privileged sector for youth employment. Enormous efforts have been made to improve irrigation, for example, but this has merely freed a lot of

workers from the land, instead of employing new ones.

A number of industrial projects are in progress between Tunisia and Algeria and others are being considered with Libya and Morocco. Commercial agreements have been signed with Algeria in order to deal with the olive oil surplus. Efforts to export to the Gulf have not proved very successful.

Schools Report: Good Intentions Drowned in a Tide of Mediocrity

 In independent Tunisia, both the government and the opposition have prided themselves on the country's education system. Considering that nearly half of its present population are under 20, Tunisia has made outstanding efforts, disproportionate to its means, to provide its young with modern education. What the country lacked in technicians and executives to develop its institutions, it could compensate for with the sizeable number of scholars who could easily be trained to run the administration and education. Graduates from the old Islamic university of Zaitouna, took over the education and justice sectors in Tunisia, as well as in neighbouring countries.

The first years of independence were characterised by a boom in education. From 1961 to 1972, the number of students increased from 465,577 to 883,774 in the primary sector, from 45,751 to 171,914 in the secondary sector and from 2,309 to 10,646 in universities and higher education establishments.

* By 1972, 72.4 per cent of children of school age were attending school against 46.3 per cent in 1961, with spectacular progress for girls, who had hitherto been neglected. Their number increased from 29,207 to 254,444 in the primary sector, 12,465 to 28,607 at secondary level and from 24 to 974 in higher education between 1956 and 1966.

Tunisia now boasts almost 1,200,000 pupils in primary schools, more than 300,000 in secondary schools, 30,000 students in national higher education establishments and an estimated 10,000 in foreign universities, particularly in France.

The government has almost put an end to foreign aid – long dominated by the French – at primary and secondary levels. By 1983 there were more than 17,000 secondary school and vocational training

teachers and about 30,000 primary school ones. Moreover, Tunisia "exports" teachers to numerous Arab and African countries – including Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.

Tunisia's secular universities are still widely dependent on foreign aid, not for lack of Tunisian professors but, their critics allege, because they are run by mandarins who jealously guard their privileges and prevent the recruitment of well-qualified Tunisians.

After the initial successes, Tunisian education has now run into exceptionally acute problems. On the one hand, the high schooling rate, the result of a legitimate desire to democratise education so as to reach all social strata, has led to a definite drop in standards. On the other hand, an alarming and ever-increasing number of half-illiterate youths fail to complete their education and so swell the ranks of delinquents.

Statistics are not readily available but it is estimated that only a quarter of children registered in the first year of the primary sector reach the secondary and vocational training schools. Just over a third of these manage to get the educational qualification that concludes seven years of secondary education, or technical diploma that completes a six-year course.

This phenomenon is even more acute in higher education, especially in the faculties of law, arts and human sciences, from which very few students graduate. Here again, the ultimate consequence is a drop in standards as students repeat their studies and fill the lecture theatres to capacity; others indulge in absenteeism, countless strikes and all sorts of activities irrelevant to education.

In reply to a local magazine, the ministry of higher education partly justified the mediocrity of the results by "the government's wish to align the university stan-

dard to an international one." Even if there is some truth in this statement, it would be more correct to say that the Tunisian economy is simply failing to recruit more qualified people, now doomed to unemployment unless they can emigrate.

Beyond all these difficulties, considered by some to be caused by present economic and political problems, it is the finality and the contents of education that are now at the heart of the debate. Murmurs of protest and dissent rise from the midst of the education system. As everywhere else in the world, Tunisian education aims at the social reproduction. But the question is, what kind of society is it supposed to reproduce? Official replies outline a mixed society, torn between a costly and beyond-its-reach modernism and an ill-defined cultural identity.

As in the rest of the Muslim world, this duality became apparent during the great colonial tremor and the ensuing debate on the modernisation of Islamic institutions. The Tunisian government opted very early to discard what it had long considered as "anachronisms" (the Islamic educational institutions). This is how it came to reduce the Zaitouna University to the level of a Theology Faculty and adopted a philosophy of education and syllabi elaborated elsewhere, with the result that it is impossible to find any Arab, let alone North African dimension

in Tunisian education.


More worrying still is the decline of the Arabic language which has had no place in the schooling programme, thereby widening the gap between the urban and rural populations and, within each group, between young and old. The language of communication is now a Franco-Arabic mixture, with a touch of Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian languages in tourism-related areas.

In other sectors of social and economic activity, dispensing services using sophisticated techniques or connected with foreign countries, Arabic is completely superseded by a very approximate French. No-one will therefore be surprised if, after 30 years of independence, the Tunisian educational system, which has produced thousands of graduates in various fields, has made no impact to date on cultural life, and if only a handful of scholars are capable of making their knowledge accessible to their fellow citizens.

A timid effort at Arabisation is being made in some subjects but without continuity, since one subject can be taught in Arabic in primary schools and in French at secondary levels.

The decline of Arabic is not only visible in education but in all aspects of everyday life. The French language press outnumbers the Arabic, making a half-illiterate immigrant out of every Tunisian in his own society.

Women's Equality Provokes Backlash

 At the turn of the year, two women joined the Tunisian cabinet. Fathia Mzali, the prime minister's wife, took over the Family Ministry, and Mrs Lyacoubi, the dean of the Sousse Faculty of Medicine became health minister.

Such appointments were no surprise in a country where women are said to have been emancipated. However, there is evidence of a strong anti-feminist backlash, led by, among others, Fatma Ghannoushi, wife of the recently released Islamist leader.

Women's emancipation goes back to the early years of independence. Polygamy, which Tunisians rarely resorted to, was banned when the Personal Status Code was adopted on August 13, 1956. Women were given the right to seek and obtain divorce, a right

which they have used frequently. Government statistics show that over one third of the country's divorces are applied for by women. President Bourguiba has toured the country, calling on women to give up the *safsari*, their traditional garb, which, Bourguiba said, was a symbol of their servitude.

Women now work everywhere in Tunisia, even in the army and the police. Their salaries are equal to those of men and they share in decision-making. In addition to emancipating legislation, the authorities have granted women additional favours: for example, they are exempted from civil and military services, which gives them an advantage over men in a shrinking job market. Some people feel that this equality is at the expense of the family.

Tunisia's adherence to the San Francisco Convention, which, among other things, prohibits religious segregation in marriage, has enabled many Tunisian females to marry Europeans without them converting to Islam. This phenomenon increased with the development of tourism and emigration to Europe. Family conflicts have revealed numerous cases where Tunisian families include Christian or Jewish in-laws.

Marriages between Tunisian men and European women have also increased, for the same reasons. In the numerous divorces which take place among this type of mixed marriage, the law gives the mother custody of the children irrespective of her religion. Moreover, easy access to contraception and abortion, available in Tunisia well before some European countries, has placed an additional strain on the Tunisian family.

These challenges to the Sharia have created widespread opposition. This became clear when a bill designed to equalise inheritance shares between men and women was blocked by the General Assembly despite a long campaign to condition public opinion. Since then popular rumour has it that the government is preparing for the introduction of bigamy. This would not be surprising: bigamy has been very prevalent in some circles.

It would be incorrect, however, to

believe that the whole country is affected by the disintegration of the family. Large sections of society, particularly in the countryside, have kept family structures close to the Islamic way of life. Furthermore, an increasing number of young women willingly return to the Islamic tradition. This is observed in their wearing of the hijab, despite official disapprobation, and in their social and family behaviour. Such developments lead many to believe that the western model which has governed Tunisian society since independence in 1956 is being slowly replaced by one more in conformity with Islam.

This process is the result of Islamic activism in Tunisia since the early 1970s. Today many marriages take place according to Islamic tradition with strictly limited spending and modest dowries. Muslim families encourage procreation in spite of family planning and its economic incentives. Women often give up their jobs, or go part-time in order to take care of their children: the devastating actions of the youth during the food riots last January was seen by many as a symptom of a need for a greater affection and education.

There is every chance that the Tunisian authorities will try to take over this phenomenon, which will lead to a greater social balance and health, even though it has been initiated by the Islamic movement.

INFORMATION MINISTER COMMENTS ON PALESTINIANS, ECONOMY, WOMEN

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 69, 4 Aug 84 pp 27-28

[Interview with Layla Sharaf, minister of information by Rashidah al-Nayfar:
"Layla Sharaf, Jordan's minister of information Tells AL-TADAMUN: 'When Order Is
Established among Palestinians, Relations with Jordan Will Be Corrected';" in
Amman, date not specified]

[Text] The Committee to Support Steadfastness in the occupied
territories is having a severe financial crisis; Arab backing
is required.

There must be a moral code to elevate Arab journalism to a level
of impartiality and truth.

Yes, the challenge women are facing is a major challenge. If
one woman fails, her failure is applied to all women, whereas
it is enough for some men to sign with an "X" to become
officials.

There is no reason why an interview with Mrs Layla Sharaf, minister of infor-
mation in Jordan should not be friendly and candid. Mrs Sharaf encourages those
who interview her to ask all the questions they have on their minds. She answers
questions that are put to her in a manner that makes her feel that the person
asking the question is receiving useful and significant information.

Mrs Layla Sharaf is the first woman to preside over the Ministry of Information
in Jordan and in the Arab homeland. In this interview she granted AL-TADAMUN,
Mrs Sharaf answers questions about different issues and problems in Jordan and
in the Arab world. The text of the interview follows.

[Question] We begin with a question about Jordanian-Palestinian relations and
about [ideas] that have been set forth to solve the Palestinian question.

[Answer] Palestinian-Jordanian relations now are proceeding smoothly, and there
is total agreement and coordination. But we are still at the beginning of the
stage because we have not yet made significant progress regarding the subject of
coordination and the determination of concrete steps for the future. We, of
course, support the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legiti-
mate and sole representative of the Palestinian people. However, the Hashemite

Kingdom of Jordan has constitutional obligations on the West Bank. Therefore, although we have to have a common course and specific positions for Arab brothers regarding the peace effort, that coordination must begin between Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization so we can determine preliminary steps and principal, fundamental principles. Accordingly, our fellow Palestinians still need some coordination in their midst. They need to put their house in order, to use a current expression. Therefore, we want to give fellow Palestinians an adequate chance to settle their affairs so they would not become subject to pressures that are caused by the relationship between Palestinians and Jordanians. We want this relationship to be a positive and a direct relationship so it could produce results. We do not want this relationship to be restricted to general talks that lead nowhere. Therefore, we feel at the present time, particularly since the world scene is at a standstill awaiting the outcome of the American elections, that the time is right for our fellow Palestinians to solve their domestic problems and coordinate their ranks so that concrete common coordination between us can begin after that.

[Question] But there are those who think that disputes among Palestinians are due in part to the fact that relations with Jordan are not restricted.

[Answer] We are aware that there are groups of Palestinians that do not wish to deal with Jordan, or they would deal with Jordan under certain conditions. We do not want to force ourselves on them. We want them to come to us convinced that there can be no solution to the Palestinian question without coordination with us in the first place and without the support of fellow Arabs in the second place. We are convinced that we have to speak with one voice and unify our efforts. Our fellow Palestinians have to become convinced of that.

[Question] One of the aspects of coordination between Jordan and the PLO is manifested in the presence of a joint committee to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied land. Is it true that this committee seems to be floundering in problems?

[Answer] The financial and moral responsibilities that have been placed on the shoulders of the Steadfastness Committee are major responsibilities that cannot be borne by one, two or even three countries. There must be Arab consensus about the need to support steadfastness because our people who are living under occupation are enduring the most grievous financial and security problems as well as the general problems of life. All efforts must be made available in all countries of the Arab homeland to support those who are spearheading the resistance against the enemy until that enemy can be returned to his former borders.

The Steadfastness Committee is now going through a severe financial crisis, and that crisis is reflected on the security situation in the area. Therefore, we are calling upon all fellow Arabs to assume their responsibilities in this difficult situation.

[Question] Elsewhere in the Arab field, are there Jordanian initiatives to solve the problem of the ongoing conflict between Iraq and Iran to spare the area those complications whose consequences will be grave?

[Answer] We support all peace initiatives, particularly since Iraq is Iraq and Iran is Iran. There is no territorial dispute between these two countries like

that which exists over the West Bank. But we are aware that all the positive steps that were taken for peace were turned down by Iran. We are asking all the countries of the world that are interested in peace to use one way or another to apply pressure on Iran until it listens to reason and to the voice of Arab and Islamic fraternity and good neighborliness so that this slaughter, which has been going on because of Iran's intransigence, can be stopped. We support every view that stems from those positive elements that have so far been evident in various initiatives, particularly since the subject now has gone beyond the borders of Iran and the borders of Iraq. The subject now involves war in the area as well as an international confrontation because it has to do with oil, with the freedom of navigation and with the interests of the superpowers.

[Question] Can we consider the economic situation in Jordan unstable since measures have been taken to limit employment quotas for Arab workers on the one hand, and oil fields have been discovered on the other? Can you define for us the course of Jordan's economy in the present stage?

[Answer] I am not an economist, but with regard to Jordan's economic policy in general, we can notice that Jordan is affected by the worldwide economic recession. It is also affected by the Iraq-Iran war and by the fact that some fellow Arabs have not been meeting the obligations they pledged they would make since the Summit Conference in Baghdad. All this has had unfavorable effects on Jordan. However, we feel that we are gradually getting out of this crisis, and we hope that the assistance will be resumed, since this is assistance to support the steadfastness of Jordan, the state that is located on the longest line of fire with the enemy. We hope that this stage will not be prolonged and that aid will be restored as pledged by the fraternal countries in previous conferences.

In addition, our workers are coming back from the Gulf because of the economic recession there and the decline in the price of oil as well as the economic crisis which the Gulf states are experiencing.

But in spite of all that, the economic measures we have been taking for the past 3 or 4 years were able to absorb these shocks. Because qualified people had immigrated to the Gulf states and because different countries in the Arab homeland have been depending on Jordanian labor, we had to import workers from several countries, including the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Egypt. Therefore, with the return of a number of Jordanian workers to the country, we had to regulate the employment of foreign workers so we could give priority to Jordanians, to fellow Arabs and then to foreign workers.

As far as oil is concerned, we do not yet know if this oil is commercially significant or if it is of good quality. We hope that it will be and that it will be valuable and feasible [to pump oil out of these fields] so we can at least cover the country's domestic needs.

[Question] How do you see the status of the media in the Arab homeland? And what are the steps that must be taken to improve that status?

[Answer] What we must do first is what the Association of Arab Journalists pledged it would do about training journalists. Not everyone who wants to become a journalist should become one. We have to have academic, educational and moral

standards. It is also necessary to have a moral code for the Arab press so it can become impartial and report the truth. The Arab press has been the victim of regimes and the Arab life style for the past 20 or 30 years. The media were used as weapons to defame, slander, pass improper judgment and spread falsehoods, if one may say that. This media policy has been reflected on the Arab press, and it has damaged its impartiality and its role as a player that can help decision makers make decisions. Our press does not play that role. Articles are improvised, and editorials are written in a manner that is not based on the truth.

Therefore I am hoping that the association will try to upgrade the Arab press so as to make it handle subjects properly and reach proper conclusions that have nothing to do with individual personal objectives. We, as people concerned with the media, and you, the press, are basically responsible for shaping the collective mentality of the Arab people. We must not belittle that role, and we must not dally with it. The media are principal tools of education, walking hand in hand with it.

[Question] The women's movement in Jordan is one of the most important movements in the Arab homeland. It seems that it is going through a new stage at the present time. What is your evaluation of this stage?

[Answer] We are fortunate in this country. It is true that women's role in society has not been accepted 100 percent, but opportunities are available to women. They have to prove themselves, and they have to say that they want to work, not just get their rights without working.

We have a rising but very active women's association. Before I became minister we had a woman who was minister of development and social affairs. She too has been very enthusiastic about women's issues, and she worked to establish the foundations of the women's movement in Jordan. This movement is a rising movement, but at the same time it is not. In its methods and aspirations it is a rising movement; but there was a women's movement before it, and its methods were more individualistic than collective. This means that there were well-known leaders who had had considerable education and who had personally led women's struggles. Now we have a federation that includes numerous women's organizations. Also the early leaders were more fanatic because opportunities were not available to women. But now these opportunities are available, and more doors are being opened to women now than they were in the past. There aren't many countries in the world that gave women their rights without a violent struggle, including the European countries and the United States. But in Jordan the opposite occurred. Doors were opened to women on the highest levels. Thus, the direction of women's struggle took a different turn: from harassment, controversy and anger to cooperation and participation in developing society. There was an awareness that women have to be trained so they can play principal roles. The modern women's movement is aware of that, whereas the first women's movement did not have a specific plan.

[Question] Don't you think that changing the laws, particularly those that have to do with personal status, is a matter of fundamental concern in the liberation of women?

[Answer] Changing the laws is a matter of fundamental concern, but it must be pointed out that there are no laws in Jordan that impede women. The new labor law gave women excellent rights and opened new doors for them while preserving the basic makeup of the family. Society has to go along with women in some laws so that families do not collapse as they did in other parts of the world.

[Question] What about personal status laws?

[Answer] The subject of personal status laws remains a difficult problem because it is linked with the religious situation. A few countries, chiefly Tunisia, have been able to overcome the convulsive posture against personal status laws. The Koran is suitable for all time and all place. This means that one may use one's independent judgment to interpret it. But in many Arab countries such independent judgments are still feared and banned. We have to follow the example of a few countries like Tunisia, which succeeded in becoming a pioneer in that area. It set a significant precedent and became an authority on the subject for all Arab countries. Recently Egypt had this experience, and as is well-known, it was supported by al-Azhar.

In Jordan we now have a personal status law that is better than the one we had in the past, but we are trying to amend it. An amended bill will be presented to the assembly, but we do not know whether or not that bill will pass. This bill takes into account women's new role and the need to meet their other rights, such as their rights in marriage, their rights as mothers and their rights when they inherit property. We cannot guarantee that passage of this amendment will be easy. There will have to be resistance to it, but there is at least a bill in the works that we are trying to pass.

[Question] After assuming your position as minister, how would you evaluate the significance of that fact with regard to the status of women in Jordan in general? And what does that position mean to you personally?

[Answer] I was preceded in the cabinet by Mrs An'am al-Mufti. I was well-received in the cabinet. Before that, women had been appointed to the National Consultative Council. As you know, parliament had been suspended for a period of time, and another body was created to replace parliament during the suspension period. That body was created to discuss legislation and the government's policy. Three women were appointed to that first assembly; and four were appointed to the second and third. That pushed women's role in politics forward. However, I am the first political minister. Therefore, my appointment signals the onset of a new stage. Nevertheless, we found that my role was accepted. At the present time I am facing the major challenge of having to rise to the positive level at which society has accepted me. I had never dreamed that the acceptance would be so positive.

[Question] You mentioned the need for challenge more than once. Does this mean that women face special difficulties when they are in positions of power?

[Answer] I have always told men that women have to prove their worth, whereas it is enough for men to sign with an 'X' to be considered worthy of responsibility. Therefore, we are facing the challenge of proving our worth so that the phenomenon [of women in positions of power] can become a normal one.

Women are always being tested. If I fail in my position at the ministry, for example, that failure will be taken against me and against women in general. But if a man fails, the failure is not taken against him, and his failure is considered a stage that he goes through before he moves on to something else. The major challenge for women is to make their role in society an actual fact and not a matter of favor and munificence they receive for personal considerations. For example, women have to be good and have to have a better education than others. If we want to apply these cultural and educational standards, we have to apply them equally to women and men without discriminating between them on the basis of sex.

8592

CSO: 4404/621

STOCK MARKET, OTHER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ANALYZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 389, 4 Aug 84 p 57

[Article: "The Crisis of Jordan's Stock Market Is not like That of al-Manakh Stock Market"]

[Text] The slump of Amman's stock market is attributable to foreign and domestic reasons, including the worldwide recession, the decline in oil exports from the Gulf, the collapse of al-Manakh Market and slow rates of economic growth in the past 2 years.

Stock prices of companies and banks in Amman's stock market fell recently after rumors spread quickly that some companies and banks had sustained losses because of mismanagement and other reasons. This is the first real slump that the stock market in Amman had had ever since it was established in the late seventies.

Duly qualified Jordanian authorities had placed much hope on the stock market as a tool that could attract some of the monetary surpluses in the Gulf countries. They counted on it as a tool to attract the savings of Jordanians working abroad, particularly in the Gulf countries. This was what actually happened. The stock market was able to perform the role that had been set for it in the best possible way.

Since 1982, however, prices have been falling under the influence of the sharp economic depression inside the country, in the region and worldwide.

Unlike the stock market in Kuwait, the stock market in Amman is completely free. In other words, the state does not interfere in the market to shore up stock prices; it does not control stock prices, which are subject to the law of supply and demand only. Thus it was noticed that the state did not interfere to stop the decline in prices even though stockholders were rushing to sell their shares at any price. It is known that conditions of companies and banks are not bad enough to justify such a rush to sell, and the evidence for that lies in the fact that buyers could be found in the market most of the time.

However, there was an elaborate point of view in Jordan's stock market on the falling prices of Jordanian shares. In a report issued recently the management of Amman's money market tried to emphasize that it was the worldwide recession that was responsible for the crisis in Amman's stock exchange.

The report divided the reasons for the decline in prices into three foreign reasons and six domestic ones. These are as follows:

1. The continued worldwide recession and the sharp fluctuation in currency prices and in the principal currency markets worldwide.
2. The decline in the Gulf countries' oil exports in the past 2 years because of the worldwide recession and because the Gulf states have been affected by the Iraq-Iran war. All this has led to a reduction in the volume of Arab aid to Jordan because a few Arab countries have not been meeting their obligations toward Jordan. The Gulf countries' ability to import and export products and hire workers has also declined at a time when Jordan was relying in a major and fundamental way on the Gulf countries.
3. The collapse of the "Sug al-Manakh" in Kuwait forced citizens of the Gulf to sell the Jordanian stock they held to meet their obligations and pay their debts.

The domestic reasons that were listed in the report are:

1. Rates of growth during the past 2 years have slowed down and declined. Financial revenues have also declined as Arab aid and figures for the general state budget declined during the past 2 years and the present year. This was followed by a reduction in general spending and a reduction in the implementation rate of development projects.

The report affirms, however, that despite the relative decline in rates of growth for 1983, these rates continued to be favorable: between four and five percent last year. Industrial production rose 11.5 percent, and revenues from industry rose from 230.3 million dinars in 1982 to 256.8 million dinars in 1983. The record figure for industrial production also rose from 143.8 in 1982 to 150.9 in 1983; that was an increase of 4.9 percent. The agricultural sector also grew by 18.3 percent, and inflation rates fell 5 percent in 1983.

2. There was a 14 percent decline in Jordanian exports because neighboring markets are limited. In 1983 these exports amounted to about 160 million Jordanian dinars. In 1982 Jordan's exports amounted to 185.6 million.

3. The fact that a few companies faced difficulties caused rumors to spread, and that forced investors to get rid of their shares and caused prices to fall sharply. A few industrial companies in particular faced problems and difficulties that were manifested in their inability to dispose of their products. These difficulties were accompanied by reduced prices for Jordanian products and, consequently a decline in profits.

4. There is an important technical reason for that. The liquid funds that were available in abundance in 1982, particularly the easy credit terms that were available then, led to the establishment of joint-stock companies. They also caused existing companies to issue [additional] shares. This was accompanied by a large increase in stock prices; subsequently, stock prices for numerous companies fell back to their normal range.

5. Insurance companies were affected by the decision that the Ministry of Industry and Trade made regarding increasing capital. Their stock prices were affected by that decision.

6. The decision that had to do with increasing the capital of banks forced a number of citizens and investors to hoard funds on the one hand and to convert a large part of their assets, on the other hand, to liquid funds. This was done throughout the period during which banks were implementing that decision. It was done in preparation for the forementioned issue [of stock], and it caused a significant amount of liquid funds to be withdrawn from the secondary market.

Observers here are saying that the decline in stock prices may slow down in one way or another the process of "Jordanizing" foreign banks operating in Jordan. This is a process by which Jordanian citizens become a majority of bank stock holders. It is known that this process is being conducted by increasing the banks' capital by selling shares to the Jordanian public.

8592

CSO: 4404/621

KUWAIT

CHANGES IN CITIZENSHIP LAWS URGED

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 857, 5 Sep 84 pp 12-13, 48

[Text] The explanatory memorandum to the law on Kuwaiti citizenship issued by Amiri Decree No 15 for 1959 states, "In every country, the citizenship law is considered among the most important of laws, and one that has the greatest impact. It is this law that draws the limits of the nation and distinguishes between the citizen and the foreigner. The country that does not have a law regulating the citizenship of its populace is lacking one of the most important of foundations." (AL-KUWAIT AL-YAWM 14 December 1959)

There are two main ways that Kuwaiti citizenship is granted: One is by establishing origin, the second is by naturalization. Those who qualify by establishing origin are those referred to in Article 1 of the citizenship law, which states, "Original Kuwaitis are those who settled in Kuwait before 1920 and who possessed regular residence permits stating this on the day of the publication of this law. The residence permit of the original [family member] is applicable to the residence permits of the offspring."

According to Articles 4 and 5 of the above-mentioned law, those who are naturalized are foreigners. These two articles allow the granting of Kuwaiti citizenship to foreigners, and Article 4 defines the conditions for this:

1. A person must have resided legally in Kuwait for at least the previous 15 consecutive years when he applies for naturalization, or at least 8 consecutive years if he is an Arab citizen of an Arab country.
2. The person must be able to provide a legal livelihood for himself, must be in good standing, and must not have been convicted of a shameful crime.
3. He must know Arabic.

The previous article was amended by Law No 70 of 1966. The article retained the requirement for at least 15 consecutive years from the time of publication of Decree No 15 for 1959, or at least 10 years from the same date if the applicant is an Arab citizen of an Arab country. A new paragraph was added to the conditions stipulated in the previous law. It states that the applicant for citizenship must possess a skill that the country needs. Law No 70 for 1966 limits the annual number of naturalized citizens to no more than 50

persons. Article 5 was amended to stipulate that exceptions to the conditions in Article 4 are allowed and Kuwaiti citizenship can be granted by decree to one who:

1. Has contributed significant services to the country.
2. Was born in Kuwait of a Kuwaiti mother and foreign father who has abandoned the mother, divorced here or passed away. The applicant must have resided in Kuwait until reaching legal age. By resolution of the minister of interior, it is permissible to treat those who fulfill these conditions and have reached legal age the same in all cases as Kuwaitis are treated.

Article 6, which is the focus of this discussion, stipulates that the naturalized citizen will be deprived of his political rights. Much debate has been stimulated about this article in light of the extreme sensitivity surrounding it. The sensitivity about this article and the debate that has stirred around it are the natural result of changes that have been made to it and those that are proposed from time to time aimed at lengthening the period during which the naturalized citizen is deprived of his political rights. This has made naturalized citizens feel as though they are unfit.

It appears that the objection of the naturalized citizens is not to the legal requirement and the 10-year period stipulated by Article 6 of the citizenship law of 1959. The explanatory memorandum of the law justifies the 10-year period as the time needed to verify the depth of loyalty of the naturalized citizen to his new country. If Kuwaiti citizenship is granted through naturalization, the person who is naturalized is tested for a certain period that can be called a "probationary period."

We believe that the lawmaker was correct in setting 10 years for the probationary period. This is sufficient time to discover the intentions of the naturalized and to integrate him into Kuwaiti society, assuming that the naturalized is a foreigner in the true sense of the word. The problem is, the lawmaker was overly cautious and included those who do not possess citizenship [of another country], treated them as foreigners, and subjected them to the probationary period for foreigners, even though these people are basically Kuwaitis who did not obtain Kuwaiti citizenship by demonstrating that they had established [their residence prior to 1920]. These people may have overlooked this for several reasons, such as not realizing the importance of Kuwaiti citizenship or because of nomadic instability, as is the case with Kuwaiti bedouins. Nonetheless, the lawmaker was cautious and these people are not distinguished from the naturalized citizens, and 10 years is sufficient to prepare the naturalized citizen psychologically, socially and politically to exercise his national rights through nomination and election to representative bodies. However, this 10-year period received a devastating blow when it was amended by Article 6 of Law No 70 of 1966. It was extended from 10 to 20 years. Not only this, but the 20-year period begins at the time of publication of the amendment.

This amendment has harmed those who became naturalized citizens before the publication of the amendment, since the years that they spent enjoying Kuwaiti citizenship were wiped out. The law created an unjust equality between those who were naturalized before and after the issuance of the 1959 law--which was implemented in 1962--and those who were naturalized in 1966. In contradiction with Article 6 of the 1959 law, Law No 70 for 1966 stipulates in its Article 6 that the naturalized citizen will be absolutely deprived of the right of nomination or appointment to any representative body. At the same time, however, the article grants the naturalized citizen the right to vote after 20 years have passed from the date of the issuance of Law No 70 for 1966. It has therefore granted the naturalized citizen incomplete rights. While it granted him the right to participate in the election of members of the legislative branch after the passage of 20 years, it deprived him of his right to be nominated as a candidate for this body. We believe that through this the lawmaker sought what can be called gradual participation. He also sought to give the legislative branch, which the naturalized citizen will participate in electing, the opportunity of introduce amendments to Article 6 that include the elimination of the absolute restriction against their complete participation.

However, it appears that whenever the time draws near for this partial participation, reservations arise in the hearts of some members, reservations for which we can find no justification. There is fear that the coming session will witness the flexing of election muscles. The main reason for this flexing is that some members of the National Assembly will submit a bill extending the period of deprivation of partial participation for another 5 years. The members who are contemplating this are those who can be described as afraid of increasing the number of those who can participate in the process of selecting members to the legislative branch. These members can also be described as strongly seeking the continuation of political domination and the concentration of power in the hands of the elite political and social class.

It is said that some members of this class still view Kuwait as consisting of those inside and outside the fence, and of the sons of prominent families and outsiders. This undoubtedly is a limited view, for Kuwaitis are not only the sons of the east and the Kiblah. Rather, those who belong to Kuwait are from everywhere between the land and the sea. Kuwait is no longer a limited group of families, but an Arab people whose numbers are very large. There are names of families and individuals that had no social or economic influence in the past, but this is the nature of human societies.

Our sin is not that some find it difficult to swallow past and present realities. With all due respect and admiration for the many who participated in this beloved country when it consisted of a small, sparsely populated municipality, extolling the past and trying to make it continue at a time when Kuwait's social, economic and political makeup is changing with the entry of influential social powers who desire participation in building modern Kuwait is an effort that will not succeed in the long term. This may, however, create in the short term social schisms and political discrimination among the sons of the same country. We believe that the legislative power must be freed from the pressures of the traditional political and social

powers who still believe that granting political rights to the new social powers will damage their preferential treatment through the participation [of the new powers] in political decisionmaking and legislating.

Of course, laws evolve with the evolution of society to express its hopes and ambitions. Therefore, amended Article 6 of Law No 70 for 1966, which treats the naturalized citizen as though he were a foreigner and denies him the right to be nominated or appointed to any representative body, sanctifies an undesirable situation which cannot be described as being in the interest of this country. Its continuation is a blemish on this country, and it represents an egregious harm that we inflict on our brothers and sons.

The members of the legislative and executive branches know full well that Kuwait is in urgent need of the solidarity, cooperation, work and devotion of all Kuwaitis. It would be a mistake to link this need to emergency situations such as maintaining the unity of the domestic front in times of crisis. This need must be linked to the present and future of Kuwait. We must not create crises and situations at will and then grope for impromptu, urgent solutions. The citizens who seeks a constitution that offers equality of rights and responsibilities must not be discriminated against by laws that violate the principle of equality. From this premise, opposition must not be limited to refusing the bill which some say will be submitted to the National Assembly after it returns from break and which extends the deprivation period for another 5 to 10 years. Opposition must extend to the text of the current Article 6. It must be replaced with different text that achieves the principle of equality and allows naturalized citizens to practice their political rights of nomination, election and appointment to representative bodies.

We believe that an appropriate compromise would be to return to the text of Article 6 of Amiri Decree No 15 for 1959 or adopt the amendment proposed by five assembly members on 14 January 1982, which corresponds closely to the previous Article 6 of the citizenship law of 1959. Although we believe that the 10-year period is an appropriate probationary period and that the 20-year period is too long to deprive the naturalized citizen of time is not of great importance. Interest must focus on achieving unanimity on a certain period of time. It is neither reasonable nor acceptable, however, that this period exceed 20 years.

More important than this is that the lawmaker not contemplate granting the citizen incomplete rights such as the right to vote without the right of nomination. If the current National Assembly is incapable of amending the current Article 6 in a way that guarantees the naturalized citizen the right to exercise his full political rights, then the parliament must at least leave the current situation intact for the time when it will be feasible for naturalized citizens to have the opportunity to participate in the election of their representatives and then demand that these representatives correct this poor situation.

We believe that eliminating the current absolute restriction will enrich our democratic life by expanding the base of popular participation in decisionmaking. We do not believe that there is anyone who fears this expansion except for those who want to be the only influential people. Even

among this group are those who stand firmly for protecting the constitution from tampering. This is a noble position and it will be a credit to them and a credit to all of the Kuwaiti people. These people must--and we say this not by way of advice but through faith in democracy--believe that extending the period of deprivation for a large segment of our population is not in the interest of democratic progress. Our brothers, members of the National Assembly, remember well that the majority of them opposed granting women their political rights, relying on feeble excuses. If we add to this the deprivation of political rights for naturalized citizens, then the National Assembly represents only a small portion of Kuwaiti society. We are confident that our brothers, the members of the National Assembly, know well that expanding the base of popular support would be a boost to democracy and to the National Assembly and its members, and would be a firm assurance that the course of democracy is protected against any future efforts to attack it. Perhaps the members of the legislative branch remember that the popularity of the 1937 assembly--the assembly that was the real seed of Kuwaiti democracy--was limited to a certain kind of people, and this was one of the reasons behind its demise, despite the amazing efforts of its members and the progressive legislation which that assembly passed.

12608

CSO: 4404/667

RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION CRITICIZED

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 853, 8 Aug 84 pp 8-9

[Text] A symposium on public freedoms and rights was scheduled to be held last Wednesday evening. It was sponsored by the university branch of the National Federation of Kuwaiti Students and was to be held at the Federation Club at the university, but it was canceled by a resolution of the Ministry of Interior.

It seems to us that the interior ministry's intervention came because of the title of the symposium and the names of those who were to participate in it. Whatever the reasons and excuses for the interior ministry's decision from its standpoint, such reasons and excuses are a strike against the ministry and not for it, because it does not make sense that it should rule against a symposium, for example, before it begins, unless the ministry believes that perhaps it is something that violates the gatherings law or will incite chaos.

It appears that the gatherings law has become a sword in the ministry's scabbard that sheathes and unsheathes whenever it pleases. We find that the interior ministry governs itself and dictates the kind of cultural activity [that will take place], as though it has an absolute conviction that a message can be read by its title and it does not matter if the contents of the message provoke sensitivities or break the law or if there is a calm intellectual discussion. This is not the first symposium that has been canceled, and we fear that it will not be the last.

What we want to remind the interior ministry of is that its interference to restrict freedom of thought, specifically of those whose opinion does not agree with the government's opinion, has become a kind of surrender, since at the same time it provokes disdain and disgust and increases the depth of hostility toward the government much more than the airing of hatred for this government or that.

Therefore, such measures and decisions are not acceptable to a people such as the people of Kuwait who seek to be governed by a constitution that guarantees freedoms of thought and belief. Rather, such measures are viewed as measures that are without wisdom or foresight.

In democratic countries, freedom of thought is not considered a luxury, but is equal to water and air.

With some differences, Kuwait is considered a democratic country, but there is no democracy without intellectual and political freedoms.

As we mentioned before, the symposium was to have been held at the National Federation Club, which is located within the fences of the University of Kuwait and only a few meters from the university's administrative headquarters and the office of the honorable president. If the Ministry of Interior was so bold as to decide to cancel a symposium inside the fences of the university, the question is, did the university administration know of this decision.

Whether it knew or not, is it acceptable for the university, which must be a haven for intellectual freedom and a fertile ground for the production of intellectuals and ideas, to remain silent about such a decision?

Have matters become so bad that students must be pursued inside the fences of the university and prevented from exercising their right to carry out intellectual activities?

According to what we know, and we do not know everything, we say that the university, even if it was not a party to the provocation--and this is unlikely--will absorb [the ministry's] result as though it never were made. For the university to accept the decision, however, must be considered another insult to the university's administration. What happened was first and foremost a violation of the sanctity of the university and an assault on its independence. What we feel obliged to stress is that the university administration's silence and lack of challenge to this decision must be viewed as participation in the violation of the sanctity of the university. The university must be a voice of civilization, not an empty architectural structure. It must be an umbrella sheltering ideas and intellectuals, an umbrella from which ideas and intellectuals can emerge. The university must be an incubator for those who excel in reading and writing. In other words, there is a great difference between the mission of the university and the mission of the schools of the Ministry of Education. The students in the schools grow accustomed to receiving and absorbing an education--and we do not necessarily agree with the majority of teaching methods in the Ministry of Education's schools--but our understanding of the university's mission is that the student there must be discriminating and at least able to differentiate between the fat and the lean from his own point of view. The years that the student spends in the university must develop his mental faculties. This development is not limited to his field of specialization, but through understanding his role as a university student, he prepares himself to be a productive and effective human in his society. Therefore, we believe that the student's role, through the activities of student societies or through his personal efforts, is an extension of the role of the university. This is a civilized role aimed at introducing fundamental changes in the social, political and economic structure in order to create a society in which social values prevail that respect the rationality and sanctity of mankind. This will never be achieved as long as freedom of thought is not prevalent among the people, with the students at the forefront.

So that the university can play an actual and tangible role in creating future intellectuals and leaders, it must safeguard freedom of thought and expression, and it must resist, with all means available, the efforts of some to tame the university and immobilize the energies of its youth. Yes, not all activities, especially those of a cultural nature, are beneficial. In fact, there may be harm in some, such as confessional partisanship, for example. However, the university must realize that the only solution lies not in preventing students from conducting their activities, even if the university administration, or even if we, disagree with the form and the substance of these activities. The solution lies in providing equal opportunities for principles to enter the arena of discussion in the context of a democratic dialog that guarantees a struggle of ideas and prevents a struggle of arms.

If the university, for personal reasons, is frightened by not adhering to a calm democratic dialog, then it can, with the cooperation of student organizations from federations to societies, and in cooperation with professors, create a framework for its activities and the activities of its students.

Therefore, it is shameful for the university, which should be the most important educational and cultural institution, that the activities inside of it are evaluated by people outside of it who do not know the details of these activities. We believe the Arab proverb which says "He who loses something cannot give it" applies to the university. It is clear that its administration is incapable of guaranteeing the right of democratic dialog between the administration itself and the professors, to say nothing of the students. May God help them.

12608

CSO: 4404/667

GOVERNMENT REVENUES DECLINE

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 855, 22 Aug 84 p 19

[Text] The June 1984 edition of the Statistical Bulletin issued by the Central Statistics Department of the Ministry of Planning states that government revenues for the first quarter of this year were 800.6 million Kuwaiti dinars compared to 892.9 million Kuwaiti dinars during the final quarter of last year, that is, a decline in government revenues of 92.3 million dinars. Normally, such a decline in revenues would have an impact on the overall economic activity in the country, but the government has embarked on a policy of spending to limit the recession. This was revealed in the publication. Statistics for current government spending indicated expenditures of 534.5 million Kuwaiti dinars during the final quarter of last year. Government expenditures have risen significantly on construction projects in accordance with a policy adopted by the government of stimulating the commercial market. Spending on construction projects amounted to 127.5 million Kuwaiti dinars between January and March this year, compared to 94.8 million dinars for the October-December period of 1983. In other words, there was a spending increase in this sector alone of 32.7 million Kuwaiti dinars.

The bulletin stated that consumer prices for all types of food increased by 0.6 percent during last March. Food prices in general increased by 0.8 percent during March, while the prices for clothing and shoes and transportation and communications increased by 1.2 percent. The bulletin, which represents the latest economic and social statistics in Kuwait, contains figures for production and export of oil and refined products, foreign trade, transportation, communications, housing and other vital statistics in addition to figures for government spending, GNP and the national debt.

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CSO: 4404/667

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENT OFFICE REORGANIZATION--Interior Minister Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad al-Sabah has issued a resolution eliminating the Public Administration for Citizenship, Passports and Residence Permits and creating the Public Administration for Immigration Affairs and the Public Administration for Citizenship and Travel Documents. The first article of Ministerial Resolution No 347 for 1984 that was issued by the minister of the interior calls for the elimination of the Public Administration for Citizenship, Passports and Residence Permits established by Resolution No 14 of 1983. The second article calls for the creation of the Public Administration for Immigration Affairs to be headed by a director general who will be aided by an assistant director general. The organization will be directly under the deputy minister. The second article limits the responsibilities of the administration to organizing the entry and exit of foreigners into the country and arranging their legal residence in the country in accordance with the law and Kuwait's security requirements. Article 3 of the resolution calls for the creation of the Public Administration for Citizenship and Travel Documents to be headed by a director general and assistant director general. The administration will be under the deputy assistant minister of interior for citizenship and travel document affairs. It will be responsible for overseeing citizenship activities and passports for Kuwaitis, following up the resolutions of the committees formed for the purpose of investigating citizenship requests, and issuing citizenship certificates, passports and Kuwaiti transit visas. [Text]
[Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 853, 8 Aug 84 p 7] 12608

OIL COMPANY INVESTMENTS--The Kuwaiti National Oil Company has announced about \$50 million in new investments in its oil refineries in the Netherlands. The company, which is headquartered in London, said that the goal of these investments is to increase the company's ability to serve the European market. The main project, which represents an investment of about \$46 million, is aimed at improving the acquisition of cargoes of oil and petroleum by-products from Kuwait so that they can be refined, processed and distributed in European markets. In addition, the oil refinery will be equipped with a storage facility to store the components of gasoline in an effort to produce lead-free gasoline in the future. These investments to serve the European markets come in the wake of unstable conditions in the world oil market, the company's acquisition of several gas stations, and the purchase of shares of foreign companies working in the oil sector. In addition to this, the question

which remains to be raised to the organization is whether it can benefit from this investment and turn it into a project that can serve as a vehicle for oil storage under the emergency conditions being experienced by the region. [Text] [Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 855, 22 Aug 84 p 19] 12608

CSO: 4404/667

COMMUNIST PARTY SPLINTER GROUPS MEET IN CALCUTTA

BK271519 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 21 Sep 84 p 7

[Text] Patna, 20 Sep--Leaders of numerous splinter groups of CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist], who met in Calcutta on 15 and 16 September at the instance of Mr Kanu Sanyal, one of the originators of the Naxalbari movement in 1967, reportedly dropped the idea of merger and favoured the formation of a coordination committee for fostering a spirit of unity.

Consumed by a passion for retaining personal identities, the "former Naxalite" chiefs widely differed on the ingredients of joint action. They could not even achieve the immediate aim of constituting a coordination committee. So they postponed this move till the next meeting in November or December.

The only point on which they were all agreed was, according to sources here, that Mrs Indira Gandhi was "covertly preparing the ground for one-party authoritarian rule over the country."

The conference felt that steps should be taken to counter this move but failed to chalk out any tangible line of action. The broad policy line that emerged was that "terrorism," a euphemism for annihilation, should be abandoned and "right revisionism" should be opposed tooth and nail. They appear to have gotten lost in a mesh of verbiage on the propriety or otherwise of participating in "electoral politics."

For instance, it was felt that if in a "revolutionary situation" the powers that be and the forces of right revisionism showed signs of weakening and if the people were "unprepared for an all out struggle to overthrow the government" then boycotting the elections would be "left deviationism."

Apparently, this is their way of saying that they could, if conditions were ripe in particular regions, take part in elections to municipalities, state assemblies and the Lok Sabha, depending on the assessment by the faction concerned of its strength and mass support potential.

The contrary contingency was also dealt with. It was stressed that if there was an upswing in the revolutionary content of mass movements and if various splinter groups were willing to act in concert, then participation in elections would amount to "right opportunism."

It is learned that at the Calcutta meeting there was a reference to alleged U.S. assistance to the group led by Mr S. N. Singh. Mr Singh reportedly pleaded that he was not aware of what his colleagues, Mr Bhaskar Nandi and Mr Santosh Rana, were doing.

This group was formed in 1980 and the "U.S. cat was out of the bag" only in 1984, according to pro-Singh elements, who sought to justify, in the wake of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, that Russia was the "chief enemy" of revolutionary forces and that the United States after its humiliating withdrawal from Vietnam, was the "lesser evil."

The talk about U.S. assistance, regardless of its truth content, led to the truncation of Mr Singh's group as both Mr Nandi and Mr Rana walked out on him to form another splinter group. However, Mr Singh later reversed his line of thinking. Whether he did so after Rana and Nandi left him or before is not clear.

Back to the Calcutta deliberations. Opponents of Mr Singh appear to hold him responsible for postponing the formation of a coordination committee. Also, there appears to have been a misunderstanding. Mr Kanu Sanyal, who had sent a draft plan of action to various splinter groups for eliciting their opinion, was reportedly surprised when Mr Singh told him that, vis-a-vis the draft action programme, he got letters from two or three group leaders pleading for more time to consider the points raised.

Mr Sanyal obviously wondered why the group leaders concerned had not written to him, the initiator of the move.

Mr Umadhar Singh, who had broken away from Mr Singh in 1980 itself, favoured the formation of the committee immediately, leaving room for induction of latecomers as and when they made up their minds. It is learned that Mr Kanu Sanyal felt that it might be better to wait for a month or two and form this committee at the next meeting.

This decision was taken even though the consensus was that the groups participating in the Calcutta meet were together a much stronger force than those who failed to respond.

The groups owing allegiance to the following leaders reportedly attended the meeting: Mr Kanu Sanyal, Mr Umadhar Singh, Mr S. N. Singh, Mr Ashim Chatterjee, Mr M. H. Krishnappa (Karnataka), Mr D. V. Rao and Mr Kola Venkatiah (Andhra Pradesh), Mr K.P.R. Gopalan (Kerala) and two leaders from Uttar Pradesh whose names could not be ascertained.

It is not clear yet if Mr Nagabhushanam Patnaik of Orissa and Mr Chandra Pulla Reddy of Andhra Pradesh attended the meeting. Those who kept away from the meeting included Mr Binod Mishra, the most influential ML Leader of Bihar whose group operates primarily in Patna and Bhojpur districts, Mr Sitaramayya (Andhra Pradesh), Mr Santosh Rana and Mr Bhaskar Nandi, and Mr Nishit Bhattacharya (pro-Lin group).

According to opponents of the group that considered the United States as a "lesser evil," pains were taken to form "voluntary social service organisations to serve as conduits for foreign assistance," which allegedly came, in addition to the United States, from societies in Denmark and Germany.

As far as can be ascertained, such funds were used for construction of small schools, conducting adult literacy classes, digging wells and ponds, etc., in Musahiri in Muzaffarpur district, Bihar, and Gopiballavpur in West Bengal.

The same sources said a social service organisation, believed to have been promoted by a CPI-ML leader of West Bengal, was engaged in similar "constructive activities" in Kanthali block in Rajasthan with the help of funds allegedly made available by the World Bank.

It appears that in all these cases the "donors" had no idea of the "men behind the organisations," much less of their political complexion.

One thing is, however, certain. The splinter groups of CPI-ML are incapable of pooling their minds and working in concert. The differences among them are of cavernous proportions. Each one of them thinks much too well of himself to consider others as equals.

9459

CSO: 4600/1046

EDUCATION MINISTER: WE MUST KEEP PROFESSORS, PHYSICIANS CONTENT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 Sep 84 p 26

[Text] The minister of higher education and culture: Having scientific and specialized seminars is a sign of the flourishing of science in the country.

KEYHAN Educational Service: The results of the first trip of the minister of higher education and culture and his visit to the University of Martyr Chamran were analyzed:

Dr Iraj Fazel, the minister of higher education and culture, after returning from his recent trip to the medical surgery conference of Martyr Beheshti University, talked to the educational reporters of KEYHAN about the results of this trip and the need for arranging these scientific and specialized conferences and seminars.

Results of the First Trip

Dr Fazel, in regard to his first visit to the University of Martyr Chamran in Ahvaz said: "This was a valuable trip and we had the opportunity to meet closely with the officials and professors of this university and discuss their problems and questions. Also during this trip we visited organizations affiliated with the university and the colleges.

"The Martyr Chamran University, in addition to its geographical problems and its location in the war region, has suffered vast damage. But regardless of all its difficulties and problems, respectable officials of the various colleges, devout professors, and staff have abundantly fulfilled their duties which we appreciate very much."

Then, in response to the question "During this visit, what were the needs and shortcomings?" he answered: "The Ahvaz University, more than any other university, needs to attract manpower. In this regard, in different discussions with the university officials, we anticipate providing the needed human resources to the Khuzestan Province.

"Also during this visit we observed that many buildings are occupied by revolutionary organs like the corps and mobilization units. Due to the opening of the fall session, the university has a great need for its buildings and we hope to negotiate with the responsible authorities and arrange the immediate evacuation of these buildings."

Need for Curative Institutions

"Meanwhile the different institutions of this university have suffered great damage from the war which has caused enormous pressure on the curative institutions of the university in relation to the wounded and regular patients of the province. Unfortunately, due to this reason, they are in a very dreary condition, and they need facilities, equipment and fundamental repairs. Nevertheless, the physicians and the staff of these hospitals are working very hard and with immense sacrifice they have fulfilled their duties. We hope that by using the allocated budget for the reconstruction of the war regions, we will be able to reconstruct the hospitals of Martyr Chamran University which is essential for this region, since these hospitals are mainly in charge of the services for the war wounded and the people of the province."

Then the minister of higher education and culture expressed his views about seminars like the medical congress going on at Martyr Beheshti University and said: "To organize scientific and specialized conferences is a sign of scientific progress and is one of the best ways to learn about high level scientific developments in the world. Unfortunately, in our country, after the imposed war, our activities have been very limited and have been confined to very few instances. We hope that by encouraging scientific conferences in different universities of the country to create and compile an educational program for our colleagues. We also hope to at least show the experiences of our physicians as a result of the imposed war at the national level and in the world. We would also like to create a chance for our colleagues inside and outside of the university to become acquainted with new scientific progress during these conferences."

Then, in response to the effect of these conferences on attracting professors and physicians from abroad he said: "In regard to the effect of these conferences in attracting manpower from abroad one must not exaggerate. To attract this manpower requires planning, preparation and the stabilization of the situation of the professors inside the country. When we succeed in keeping the present professors reasonably content, the forces abroad will automatically return to Iran."

9815

CSO: 4640/33

DIFFERENCES NOTED OVER WAR, DEFENSE MINISTER

GF200924 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 19 Oct 84

[Text] The beginning of a scattered war in the Iran-Iraq border line is merely for show. It was said yesterday in various Tehran circles that the beginning of a sporadic war by the armed forces and the Revolution Guards in the southern and western areas of the country are among the exhibitionist operations of the regime. The reason for this is the difference of opinion between the opponents and protagonists of war in Khomeyni's administrative machinery.

The Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent says that the introduction of the new defense minister, Colonel 'Azimi-'Etemad, to the regime's Majlis was a propaganda plan by the coterie of 'Ali Khamene'i and Hoseyn Musavi, simultaneous with this ostensible attack on Iraqi soil, so that the opponents in the Majlis may succumb to the (?news) about the war and may (?hastily) approve of the selection of the new ministers. The opposing mullahs have inflicted another blow on the government and the ruling clique by (?rejecting) Hoseyn Musavi's proposal on the approval of Col 'Azimi-'Etemad as the regime defense minister.

The Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent adds: While the debate on the records of the new ministers began in the Majlis, Hashemi-Rafsanjani announced that the session would be held in camera. Despite this the discussions by the representatives and the debate on the records of the new ministers echoed resoundingly outside the Majlis. The opposing speaker of the government, Savoji, while speaking on the new defense minister, whose nomination was not accepted, said that he has a counter-revolutionary record, as he was the apple of the eye of the higher echelons of the imperial armed forces. Savoji said that Col 'Azimi-'Etemad is not even qualified for the post he holds at present, that is the directorship of the ordnance factories and military industries.

On the basis of the same report, another mullah of the hymn-singing mullahs proposed that one of Khomeyni's Revolution Guards be chosen as defense minister. He said: The regime should not only appoint those persons who had been trained by the previous regime for this important post. In any case, the issue of war, with its superficial operations yesterday, which has assumed the (?status) of the settling of government

accounts among miscellaneous mullahs, was not able to exert a positive effect on the strengthening of the government's faction and 'Ali Khamene'i in the mullahs' Majlis.

In the area of Meymak and Khorramshahr, which witnessed intermittent fighting yesterday, nothing was gained except casualties of guards, soldiers, and the bombing of Iranian villages and the killing of defenseless civilians. In any case, the mullahs of the government and majlis seem to have settled their scores.

CSO: 4640/85

FORMER PRIME MINISTER RECOMMENDS UNITY FOR TOPPLING KHOMEYNI

London KEYHAN in Persian 27 Sep 84 p 11

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The duty of antiregime groups abroad is to help the liberation forces inside the country. Unity based on national sovereignty and the world declaration of human rights is necessary.

Paris--Dr 'Ali Amini, former prime minister, in a declaration asked all political forces to be united within the framework of national sovereignty and the world declaration of human rights in order to topple the Khomeyni regime faster. Amini described the fundamental role of the antiregime groups residing abroad as assisting the vast liberation movement within the country and said: "Iran belongs to all Iranians and no person or group has the right to impose its taste on others."

Amini said: "The tyrant and bloodthirsty ruling regime in Iran during five rebellious years has brought our country to the threshold of downfall. Among the tragic remnants of this regime is the vagrancy of hundreds of thousands innocent Iranians who have the right to live in their country and to serve it. But due to the abolition of legal, individual, social, and economic rights, they have taken refuge abroad. My friends and I, from the beginning of the rule of the usurper regime have tried to create harmony and unity among those Iranians who would love to protect their nationality and the permanency of Iran in order to be able, with the help of our countrymen inside the country, to topple this inhuman regime and establish the rule of law and security in Iran.

"As I acknowledged from the start of this fight, I intended and will intend to create harmony and a national understanding to free Iran. For this purpose, I have extended my hand towards all groups and individuals who believe in democracy, the rule of law, justice, social security, and the principle of national sovereignty, but not for those who have an imposed prescription for the nation in their pocket. The only difference between these people and the present regime is personal; otherwise the essence of their belief in managing the nation is the same as the present government."

Experience of Having Three Presidents

The former prime minister, in the continuation of his declaration added: "My friends and I find constitutional monarchy the most suitable form of government for Iran. We have not chosen this motto based only on the past history and culture of our nation and country. A glance at the near past and the changes of three presidents during four years, where the last one could not escape from events unharmed, and the lack of stability and danger to national solidarity has confirmed our opinion. In addition, all our information indicates that the decisive majority of the nation has reached this conclusion and are demanding the continuation of constitutional monarchy.

"The very same experience has made my fundamental opinion firmer, which is a belief in national sovereignty. The final judge is the nation of Iran, and all the individuals and groups who believe in the territorial independence of Iran and its national sovereignty. According to the specific laws of our constitution and with attention to the declaration of human rights, they have the right to interfere in choosing their destiny. Based on the democratic principles, the minority should respect the majority vote and must follow the country's laws. Therefore, it is not acceptable for the patriots and liberals, due to the difference of their opinions, to be mavericks and withdraw from the holy path of liberating Iran shoulder to shoulder with others."

Dr Amini, in repeating his previous slogan of national reconciliation, said: "Nearly four years ago when I suggested national reconciliation, it seemed there was a solution for unity and alliance of all the groups. The problem was the difference of tastes due to homesickness and the disillusionment of our countrymen abroad, and the lack of readiness of different factors was decreasing the speed of our movement. Today I am honored that finally the majority has realized the justification of our way. We believe that moderation in political mottos and decisive action is the best way to achieve our goal and liberate Iran. We believe that Iran belongs to all Iranians and no individual or group has the right to impose its views on others.

"We believe a country which has been involved in such a great disaster and as a result of the action and inhuman activities of the corrupt, spiteful, and ambitious, is able to free itself from the burden of this calamity only by the way of unity and alliance of all the patriotic and liberal Iranians, whether clergy, merchants, government employees, university students, laborers, farmers, or armed forces."

Traces of Decline

Amini added: "We believe in the future of Iran, there is the possibility of living, work, and progress for everyone. Those who in order to survive have to cooperate with this tyrant regime must be given the chance to compensate for their past action. The destiny of those who have oppressed the people and encroached on property and peoples lives must be decided by the competent courts of the ministry of justice, not according to individual views and vengeance."

"We believe the sign of decline is noticeable in all the images of this regime and today is the most appropriate time for all of us to use all our efforts to end this great calamity which threatens the existence of our homeland.

"I remind you and all our countrymen abroad who think amorously about saving the country and its permanency in order to attain this goal, to be united. There is no way except unity in action to help the extensive liberation activities that exist within the country.

"I declare to all liberals inside the country who are struggling in the middle of blood and fire to save Iran, that we will use all our efforts to help them, and we will use all honourable means in this way. Our and your unity and alliance will guarantee the liberation of Iran."

9815

CSO: 4640/27

FRENCH PAPER VIEWS IRANIAN-KURDISH STRUGGLE

PM221143 Paris LE MONDE in French 14-15 Oct 84 p 4

[Christiane More Dispatch: "With the 'Peshmergas' Struggling Against Khomeyni"]

[Excerpts] Irbil--Komeleh members intend to show that they are a force to be reckoned with in Kordestan. The western media often ignore them, making much of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran [KDP], whose general secretary is a well-known political figure in Iran and abroad, especially in left-wing intellectual circles. Mr Qasemlu, a clever diplomat, a poet when the mood takes him, persuasive and attractive, denigrates these allies, describing the "young people" who lead the Komeleh and the Iranian Communist Party, with a touch of humor, as unimportant idealists.

Iranian Kordestan is a strange place in which two armed movements vie for the population's support. The KDP brings in volunteer doctors from abroad and organizes vaccination campaigns which are not entirely free from ulterior motives. In the Komeleh's favor is the dynamism of its members, their generosity, and their hatred of compromise. Its resolutely revolutionary and egalitarian ideology attracts many young people to its ranks, including a large proportion of girls.

There are sometimes clashes between peshmergas from both sides, but cooperation is tending to become the rule. "We now cooperate wherever there is a dangerous military situation," Mr Qasemlu told us. "During the recent fighting, peshmergas from our party fought alongside those from the Komeleh several times. I think this cooperation will be developed."

We met Mr Qasemlu in his headquarters, 3 hours' march from Komala's headquarters, and he described Iran's economic situation as "disastrous, because industrial production is stagnating, agricultural production is falling, unemployment is increasing, essential products are rationed, and there is galloping inflation." And he added: "If oil exports are blocked, Iran will be stifled." The KDP general secretary said that he thinks the Tehran regime is in a blind alley in the political and military spheres: "The Islamic Republic is not capable of attacking Iraq on the southern front, and its last two attacks on the northern front in the Sar Dasht and Mahabad regions (against Iraq and the Iranian Kurds) were a complete failure. The Iranian army is disintegrating.

Dozens of officers are deserting and joining the KDP or are passing over into Iraq because they do not want to defend the mullah's government. It is not because the Khomeyni regime is strong that it is lasting, but because there are no forces to replace it." This is virtually what we were told a few days earlier by Ibrahim (Alizadeh), and it is what all the Iranian oppositionists say. However, unlike the Komeleh and the Fedayin-e Khalq minority (another Marxist-Leninist group present in Kordestan), the KDP thinks that the National Resistance Council (the National Resistance Council was formed in October 1981 by Mojahedin-e Khalq leader Mas'ud Rajavi and exiled former Iranian President Bani-Sadr to form a temporary Iranian government and organize elections after Khomeyni's fall. The KDP joined it on 27 October 1981.) is the only democratic alternative to Khomeyni's regime. The Mojahedin-e Khalq--"progressive" Shi'ite Muslims--together with the KDP, form the main component of the National Resistance Council which Mr Bani-Sadr left in April 1984. The Komeleh and the Fedayin strongly criticize their ally for this association. The KDP does not care, holding the view that the Mojahedin-e Khalq are the only credible political force in Iran, and, what is more, the first Iranian organization to accept a program of autonomy for Iran's peoples.

"On the Same Side of the Barricade"

All these Iranian movements are now allied to Iraq, the first and only country to have created an autonomous region in Kordestan. Has this autonomous region become a meeting point for the Kurdish separatists (at least those in Iraq and Iran), or is it the scene for a repetition of history 10 years on, as some observers think, suspecting Mr Qasemlu of being the Iranian Kurds' Barzani (of 1974-1975)? The KDP general secretary vehemently denies this, and in 1977 he wrote: "The sad end of the movement led by Barzani shows that it is dangerous, if not tragic, to make Machiavellianism the credo of political struggle, and to sacrifice the very principles of national liberation to temporary tactical advantages."

Although the political offices of the big Iranian opposition parties--KDP, Komeleh, and also the Mojahedin-e Khalq and the minority Fedayin-e Khalq--are entrenched on the Iran-Iraq border, and the Peshmargas only use Iraq as a way out to foreign countries, Mr Qasemlu does not regard himself as the Baghdad Government's hostage: "If you look at a map of Kordestan, you will realize that we are surrounded geographically because we have no access to the sea. And we are surrounded politically because the neighboring countries do not feel much friendship for the Kurds (and this is an understatement as far as Turkey is concerned). If a state gives us a passage to the outside world without preconditions, we accept that cooperation. This is what is happening with the Iraqi Government. We--the Kurds and the Iraqi Government--are at war with the Khomeyni regime. We are on the same side of the barricade in practical terms, but we are not fighting the Khomeyni regime for the Iraqi Government's benefit: our fight began long before the Iran-Iraq war. Nonetheless

our struggle helps the Iraqi Government. Thus there is de facto cooperation which we regard as legitimate because it helps the Kurdish people's liberation movement in Iran. We will never do what Mustafa Barzani did several times, and what his sons Mas'ud and Idriss are now doing, namely form an alliance with a foreign government which would harm the Kurdish people. Thus our alliance with Iraq is not directed against the Iraqi Kurds." The Komeleh leaders, who are not suspected so much of being dependent on Baghdad, make the same analysis.

"We Pin Our Hopes on Iraq"

The Iraqi authorities, for their part, say they are helping the Iranian Kurds because their struggle, aimed at making Iran recognize rights Iraq has granted its Kurds, is legitimate. Hashim 'Aqrawi, minister of state and general secretary of the pro-government Kurdish Democratic Party, told us: "We have obtained what we were fighting for: autonomy, and we want the Kurds in Iran and Turkey to have the same rights as we have. It is true that, for the time being, major projects are decided in Baghdad, but in the future the autonomous region will have more and more power. Nonetheless, the exploitation of a river goes beyond the narrow framework of a region. Ours is an original experiment. For the first time there is hope for the Kurds, and it is placed in Iraq. We are developing with the pen and with education, and this is our victory."

CSO: 4619/5

JOINT STAFF CHIEF DISCUSSES ARMED FORCES SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Tehran SAFF in Persian No 58, Oct 84 pp 4-8

[Interviews with Joint Chief of Staff General Zahirnezhad and the commander of the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran, "On the Visit to the Self-Sufficiency Projects of the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran"; interviewer, date and place not specified]

[Text] Question: General, you recently visited the self-sufficiency projects of the air force, along with the commander of the navy and a group of authorities and officials of the joint staff and the navy. Could you please explain your motives in this visit?

[Answer] In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. I cannot conceal that, the visit made to two air force barracks at the invitation of the commander of the air force, in addition to much joy and happiness, created an indescribable hope that if such committed and self-sacrificing personnel of the military of the Islamic Republic of Iran, particularly the personnel of the air force, are guided well, they will be able to build anything. This struggling nation is not only a model of self-sacrifice along the path of God, Islam, and the homeland, but in learning and offering knowledge, competence, and new specializations, it is also completely competent. Of course, I had visited the air force before, but in this visit, several very important points attracted my attention. First, the personnel that I met in this visit--in fact, it must be said that all those who were present in the barracks--were the best examples of discipline and models of obedience to the officials and commanders. On the whole, I saw the best examples of order and discipline in these barracks, a situation which did not exist before. The experts, who were totally absorbed in their work, were educated personnel and each was quite skilled in his area of specialization. All the classes of the force, including noncommissioned officers, officers, employees, and pilots, continued their high level work. This shows the ability of the management and leadership of a force moving in a direction in which the commanders can guide and lead

the various strata and classes toward the final goal. I observed this situation first hand in the air force and became truly hopeful, because I had not believed that the air force was in such a situation. Given the situation I observed earlier in this force, I did not expect to see such an environment. Previously, during a visit to one of the fighter units in Mashhad, suddenly one of the brothers addressed me and asked why I had gone there. In other words, this brother thought that a joint staff chief should not be in such a place. Seriously, whoever was able to change such an environment and atmosphere to the environment and situation I witnessed in this visit has really accomplished a great task, because on the basis of the instructions of our sacred religion, obedience to the commanders who are appointed by our revered commander--who is at present the leader of the great Islamic revolution of Iran and the world and the religious guardian, exalted religious jurist, great source of emulation, and leader of all the suffering people--is an obligation and a religious and legal duty.

When obedience to the chain of command is carried out well, the results are what we saw in the air force, which filled us all with amazement and admiration. Of course, I reported this to the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran. God willing, after the issuance of his instructions, they will be reported to the forces as well. I think if what we saw in this visit is spread to all the air force barracks, undoubtedly, this force will soon be self-sufficient and Iranian personnel will provide all its needs, of course, within certain limits.

Question: With your visit to the self-sufficiency projects of the air force, as the joint chief of staff of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, what instructions did you issue in support of the creative personnel and the planners of these projects?

[Answer] We must praise and encourage the personnel in keeping with the work and service that they have done to provide for the needs of one force. Although these actions are among the duties of the Muslim personnel to God, the leader, and their own conscience, nevertheless, they must be encouraged and given a hand, whether psychologically, materially, or in regards to the position of that person in the armed forces community. Of course, we have a plan, about which we also spoke with the commander of the air force, to sit and make a decision, then make it into a law and announce it officially. Therefore, it is not appropriate for me to say anything in this regard at this time. I can only say that we have made certain decisions in this regard. The personality and competence they have displayed will be the basis for their position and situation in the armed forces community. In any case, I congratulate the personnel, including

the pilots, officers, noncommissioned officers, and employees, for their love and interest in their work.

Question: In his speeches concerning the self-sufficiency crusade, the president has frequently questioned the capability of the methods of the armed forces to achieve military independence. What is your opinion in this regard and what steps has the joint staff of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran taken in this direction?

[Answer] There is no doubt that our past culture was based on consumerism. The United States, Israel, Western, and even Eastern countries were the sources for feeding our country. Hence, it is quite clear that our expert personnel must repair and rebuild the equipment of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which in the past they were not even permitted to take apart and which had to be sent to the United States or Israel unassembled. For a job that was not worth even \$1, they would charge us \$10,000. We must fight this decadent colonialist culture. We must fight a holy war against such a culture. This war has been justly called the self-sufficiency crusade. We must be satisfied with what can be manufactured domestically by Iranian personnel. If there is no spirit of contentment and we expect, for instance, a floating vessel that we have built ourselves to be completely equipped with refrigeration systems and air conditioning and able to store a 15-month supply of food, in other words, if we expect a small primitive floating vessel built by ourselves to be the same as an equipped U.S. floating vessel, we will not be able to become self-sufficient. On the contrary, we must make use of this primitive floating vessel in the beginning of our work and manufacturing, to complete and perfect it gradually. We cannot build overnight something that the industrial countries have built with 200 years of industrial history. We must progress step by step; and, as I said, instead of becoming accustomed to luxury equipment which makes us lazy, we must follow a policy of contentment. The first time the president spoke about the issue of self-sufficiency in the military was during a trip, when we were thinking of how to create the self-sufficiency crusade. In order to do so, we must first know our needs. For instance, we must know what parts and tools are necessary for the range of a gun that is imported from abroad. After we have realized our needs, we must make certain persons and divisions responsible for studies into producing and building them. We must determine whether it is possible to build these parts, in the workshops of which force they can be manufactured. Is it possible to build them in the air force, the navy, or the ground forces? And if it is not possible to do so in any of the forces, we must go to government industries and, if necessary, even to the domestic private industries. In any case, with this idea and frame of mind, and following a seminar, the decisions were announced to the forces. I hope the brothers

participate actively in this issue, to take steps to eliminate the needs of their own divisions and the country and to register whatever they make in their own names. As I said earlier, the position of these creative and constructive individuals must be preserved in keeping with their competence in the military community. If this does not happen, what we already have will be destroyed, and I hope this will not happen.

Question: As you know, the armed forces, especially the air force, due to its advanced systems and the expansion of its expertise, has creative, informed personnel with initiative. Is there a plan to make use of this expertise in other defense industries and other needed industries of the country?

[Answer] I believe that human beings must strive, to the best of their ability, to advance the just government of God, especially in this Muslim and martyr-nurturing country. Essentially, the retirement age is set such that when a person reaches that age, he should be just about unable to work. But experience has shown that those who are retired from service in the armed forces in the same physical condition are not house bound but become employed by private companies. We have physicians with more than 37 years of service. If we reduce retirement by 5 years, I myself have about 37 years of service [as published]. When the country needs me, can I go and sit at home? I believe that individuals who are educated and are experts must be used appropriate to their position and situation.

Question: The policy of the previous regime established its army in keeping with itself, based on discrimination and disunity. As the joint chief of staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran, what plans have you implemented or are you implementing to neutralize this policy?

[Answer] I believe that work is a duty and a job must be entrusted to a person in accordance with his education and ability, and he must be paid accordingly. Unfortunately, due to problems that have been imposed on us from inside and outside by the colonialist criminals, we have not yet been able to change the nature of the organization in keeping with the goals that are necessary. However, whenever any organization or force sends us a report concerning honoring and giving privileges to individuals who have shown competence, we have praised and encouraged them in the best manner. For instance, among the officers in the forces, there are those who have a rank at present which they would never have had in the past regime, but because it was reported that these individuals have the competence and deserve to have that rank and position, we agreed. Now, many of our competent noncommissioned officers hold the post of commander of a regiment on the front and have acted competently in the war. In any case, we could take steps by obtaining permission from the commander-

in-chief of the armed forces. Of course, you know that the new military proposal is being studied in the Majlis, we have been asked for our opinion several times and we have offered it. We hope this proposal will become law in a more constructive way and then be implemented. But the basis of the task is that today every [as published; following is an interview with commander of the air force]

Question: Recently, the joint chief of staff of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, accompanied by the commander of the air force and a group of the authorities and officials of the joint headquarters and the navy visited the self-sufficiency projects of the air force. Could you please explain what the aim of this visit was?

Answer: In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. Thank God, who guided us to this; had it not been for God, we would not have been guided [Arabic]. Greetings to the exalted leader of the revolution and the great commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran and endless greetings to the pure souls of all the Islamic martyrs whose shrouds are stained with blood as red as roses. Before everything else, I consider it my duty to sincerely thank and praise the joint chief of staff of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the commander of the navy, and their companions who accepted my invitation to visit the air force projects and for visiting the various areas of this force, which has taken significant measures in the area of self-sufficiency. In regards to the aim of this visit, I must say that in my opinion, such visits are very beneficial from various perspectives and dimensions. On the one hand, when the creative personnel who generously serve to free their country from the shackles of dependence and foreign domination find the commanders and high ranking officials of the armed forces eager and curious about their activities, realizing that the commanders are aware of the importance of their work and when necessary, they support them, they continue their research with more vigor and hope. Furthermore, in these visits, the concerned officials are informed of the problems and difficulties of these anonymous crusaders and can take the proper steps to eliminate them. Ultimately, this will be in the interest of the Islamic revolution and the Islamic homeland.

On the other hand, when the high level officials and commanders of the army witness the creativity and initiatives of the Iranian expert personnel first hand, the weariness of their difficult daily work, which engages them into the evening, leaves their bodies, and because the Islamic Republic, after attaining political, military, and cultural independence, is achieving economic independence as well, by the grace of God and the efforts of the committed Iranian personnel, they continue to

serve with more confidence and in their decisions rely increasingly on the ability, creativity, and initiatives of their own personnel.

Question: Please explain more about the quality and the quantity of the projects which were visited.

[Answer] In the air force, thank God, a large number of projects have been completed and put into operation through the efforts of the committed and self-sacrificing personnel of this force and numerous other projects are underway. On this visit, considering the short time that the visiting team had, they were only able to visit a few important projects. Even if I were to explain about these few projects, it might take hours and I might not be able to do them justice. But I will briefly explain each project. On this visit, a great communication project created by the expert personnel of the communication command was visited. This project was created to provide domestic and external communication and all the stages of planning and installation have been completed and put into operation by the expert personnel of this force in a period of about one and a half years. In this project, about 10,000 lines of work have been used in various parts. Compared to the original projects which were computerized and were previously purchased from the United States, and now we face many problems to keep them operational, I can confidently claim that it is more complete and advanced. In this case, we must state that we have replaced a foreign project with a domestically designed project. In other words, it was not the repairing or rebuilding of some of the systems, but it is a completely new project designed and put into operation with the ideas and initiatives of Iranian personnel.

I must say frankly that in this case we have reached self-sufficiency. In other words, we have achieved the necessary and sufficient ability to create such a great communication project so that in the future, we can easily make use of this project in other forces and government or private organizations. In my opinion, this is nothing more than self-sufficiency.

Another project visited was the project to complete and put into operation the new radar instruments. In regards to these radar instruments, I must explain that in the previous regime, a number of them were purchased at great cost. But after months, the foreign advisors had only succeeded in installing one of these radar instruments at great cost; the remainder were left to rot in the warehouses unused. With the victory of the magnificent Islamic revolution and the flight of the foreign advisors, Iranian personnel succeeded in transforming these radar instruments from stationary to mobile instruments, and at a much lower cost. Thus far, one of these radar instruments has been completed and put into operation, placed in a vital area. In

this manner, a larger portion of the air space of our country will be covered by fighter forces and the people in the border cities of our country will be safer from the aggression of the airplanes of the Ba'thist enemy. This project attracted a great deal of the attention of the visitors and the related experts were praised.

Afterwards, the joint chief of staff and his companions visited the electronic station, which is responsible for repairing the electronic equipment and machinery of the air force in the (depot) category. I must say that this station, as regards repairs and technical operations, which are all carried out by the personnel of this force, is distinguished, even unmatched, in the Middle East. In this station, not only are repairs done, but our expert brothers in this station, in many cases, have successfully built "testers" (testing machines needed for repairing very sensitive and complicated electronic equipment which was previously sent abroad for repairs due to our lack of testing machinery; and the foreign companies which repaired them would create months of delays and obstacles, some of which were also political; that is, the foreign companies knew well that our country was at war and needed this equipment. For this reason, they took every opportunity and excuse to delay the repairs. Finally, asking for large sums of money, they would repair the equipment, and often sensitive and vital electronic machinery, after going through all kinds of obstacles and spending great deals of money, was returned to Iran having been damaged on the road due to substandard packaging and transportation). In any case, at the present time, in this station, the needed testing equipment for the repair of most electronic systems existing in the air force, including radar, communication, and sensitive airplane and navigation equipment, are built through the efforts of Iranian expert personnel, and after preliminary testing, they have had very good results. Hence, in the near future, in regards to the repairs of existing electronic equipment in the air force, we will also achieve self-sufficiency, by the grace of God.

The next program was a visit to the tester simulator of Mehrabad air space, which was invented by one of the pilot brothers. With this tester, 1,500 computer cards of this simulator can be evaluated when it is out of order to determine and eliminate the kind of problem in the fastest possible time. In the past, despite the presence of U.S. advisors, whenever there were technical problems, these cards were sent to the United States for evaluation and repair, spending a great deal of time and money, because we had neither the tester nor the needed testing equipment for repairs. But now, with the efforts of these brothers, who have engineering degrees as well, this testing equipment and several digital simulators which were left unutilized and inoperative with the victory of the Islamic

revolution of Iran and the flight of the U.S. advisors, have been put into operation and are being used very well at the present time.

Another project which strongly attracted the attention of the joint chief of staff, the commander of the navy, and their companions is a new project, the necessary explanation about which I will postpone for certain reasons to a more appropriate time. However, I can only say that the results of the actions of our brothers in this area have been very significant and can have an important effect on the superiority of the operations of the air force of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Then, in the section for repairing Boeing airplanes, they visited the activities of the brothers who have been able in this unit to reconstruct the wiring of a Boeing airplane which was damaged, about 4.6 meters of it having fallen off. Of course, the reconstruction of the wing of an airplane, the greater part of which has fallen off, is not an easy task; it requires very precise calculations in order for the airplane not to lose control once again in flight and crash. This project was also carried out by the expert personnel of the air force. Of course, some time ago, a report on this activity was broadcast from the Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Fortunately, the results of more than one and a half years of effort on the part of these brothers, and after frequent testing, have been quite positive and satisfactory. Then they visited the section for the building of "booms" for Boeing refueling airplanes, concerning which we faced a lot of problems in the past, but at present, with the efforts of the self-sacrificing personnel of the air force and the help of our brothers in the domestic factories, in this area as well, thank God, we have achieved self-sufficiency. Then we visited the section for repairing missiles and we learned about the progress of our expert brothers in several very valuable projects in this part, which, for certain reasons, I am not at liberty to discuss.

Question: What instructions did the honorable joint chief of staff of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic give on visiting the activities of the air force personnel to encourage and support these inventive and creative brothers?

[Answer] He was quite excited upon seeing all this creativity and inventiveness. In praise of these hard working brothers, he said: If I had a golden tablet, I would give it as a gift to these brothers for all their competence and commitment. If I wanted to write anything in praise of these brothers, my pen would fail to describe the amount of effort in the area of freedom from dependence and economic domination on foreigners. In supporting these brothers, he instructed that for this purpose, any problem must be reported directly to him in order to take steps to eliminate them.

Question: The president and head of the supreme council for defense places special importance on the issue of self-sufficiency in the military of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As the commander of the air force, what steps have you taken and what plans do you have underway for the future in terms of strengthening the manufacturing line and self-sufficiency of this force?

[Answer] In my opinion, before expressing any decisive and clear opinion concerning the issue of self-sufficiency, the various dimensions of the claim of the attainment of self-sufficiency, or in other words the theory of self-sufficiency, must be presented in detail. I personally prefer to view the issue of self-sufficiency from two perspectives. In the first theory, self-sufficiency means necessary and sufficient competence for the repair and upkeep of what we have at our disposal at the present so that without needing the foreign repairing sources, we can have the best results. In this area, I openly announce that considering what was observed in this visit first hand--which, of course, is but a small sample presented in a brief period of time, indeed it would not be inappropriate to regard it as a drop in the ocean--in any case, in this dimension of self-sufficiency, we have succeeded in advancing more than 90 percent on the winding course of self-sufficiency. By the grace of God and with reliance on the efforts of the committed thinkers in the air force, I hope that in the not-too-distant future, I will be able to announce to the martyr-nurturing nation of Iran and the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran the good news that we have achieved the peak of self-sufficiency.

Another dimension which in fact must be mentioned as pivotal to self-sufficiency is the issue of replacement. As I explained in the previous question, in the area of providing domestic and foreign communications, with a plan presented by one of our pilot brothers in the communication command, the practical stages of which have also been completed with quite satisfactory results, which is now being utilized in the air force, we have successfully installed quite a unique system; all the stages, from planning, designing, and theory to implementation, practical use, and preliminary testing, have been carried out by Iranian personnel. Hence, in the area of actual self-sufficiency, that is, provision, production, and creation of a 100 percent domestic project in the hands of the personnel of the air force, we have achieved self-sufficiency in this area. In my opinion, in this dimension of self-sufficiency, we need more efforts and newer innovations. This important task cannot be achieved without precise, calculated, long term planning. Before all else, the colonial methods which still govern in various areas, preventing the growth and blossoming of the creative talents of the specialized and committed Iranian personnel, must be totally eliminated. To quote our beloved president, we cannot have a

revolution while we have an army whose goals are 180 degrees different from what existed previously, but which follows the same old methods and instructions. Hence, as the head of the supreme council for defense said, if we wish to attain true self-sufficiency, which is to replace old methods and create new and innovative systems and products, we must first be able to train skillful and innovative manpower, persons who are able to grow to the best of their God-given talents without anything to be an obstacle for them. Naturally, the existing methods must be turned in a direction which conforms to the sacred goals of our magnificent Islamic revolution in order to completely provide the proper grounds for training and nurturing the talents of specialized and skilled manpower. For example, if we bring several engineers specialized in building airplanes from various areas abroad and put the necessary resources at their disposal, I do not think we will have any problems building airplanes.

Therefore, if we are unable to create the proper resources for training the specialized and experienced manpower that we need, even if we have all the logistic resources and related equipment and tools, again, we will need foreign experts for production and manufacturing.

Thank God, in this short opportunity since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in our country, our expert and innovative brothers have been able to display their creative talents well. Therefore, at present, we have this creative and inventive manpower at our disposal, but the methods left us by global oppression as a legacy of the plunder of our wealth in the interest of its world-devouring aims do not permit our inventive brothers to make use of all their genius and talent God has granted them. Hence, since the time I began to serve as the commander of the air force, benefitting from the directives of the imam of the nation and the beloved president of our country, we engaged in the reorganization of the air force, because we saw clearly that as long as these false methods governed, thinking about self-sufficiency is in vain. The task of reorganization has gone through its preliminary stages and in dozens of books, the new organization of the air force has been devised. The topics and a summary of the content of the essential parts have been presented to the president. I hope with the implementation of this new organization and the elimination of the past colonial methods, the existing shackles will be removed from the constructive and inventive personnel, particularly those brothers who are serving in the technical areas, in order for us to be able to make full use of the genius and creativity of these brothers to advance the sacred goals of the Islamic Republic and to serve better and more thoroughly this revered and courageous nation and to attain final self-sufficiency, God willing.

AIR FORCE COMMANDER: ALL REPAIRS ARE MADE BY OUR EXPERTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 1 Oct 84 p 3

[Text] The assembly for the self-sufficiency crusade, changing production methods, purchasing, circular letters, and the classification of tools and existing systems in the air force of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic was opened yesterday morning with a speech by the air force commander in officer's club no 2.

In this assembly, in which representatives of all the revolutionary institutions, universities, research and study organizations, the Office of the President, the Office of the Prime Minister, and a group of military and national officials participated, after recitation of a few verses from the Koran and welcoming statements by the deputy director of the self-sufficiency crusade of the air force, Colonel Saddiq spoke on the issues of self-sufficiency, ways to eliminate problems considering existing obstacles, the breaking of false traditions, and the creation of change in the Air Force. He emphasized the importance of the self-sufficiency crusade by quoting the words of his holiness 'Ali, called the army the strong fortress of the people, and called an equipped, strong army the embellishment of the government. He said: If a country has a strong army, the government of that country can easily implement its policies by relying on that power.

He also recounted other characteristics of an ideological army from the viewpoint of his holiness 'Ali and, referring to the sensitive and successful role of the air force in the Kheybar operations and pointing out the self-sufficiency of this force, he said: In the course of the imposed war, thousands of parts were built and repaired by the creative, expert brothers of this force. If not for the efforts of these brothers, because of the severe dependence of this force, perhaps not even one of our airplanes would have left the ground. At the present time, except for a few instances, all the repairs are done by the air

force specialists. In another part of his speech, he considered one of the first steps in achieving self-sufficiency as abandoning colonial methods and policies which do not conform to our culture. He pointed out the president's emphasis on making use of creative talents and breaking traditions and said that before we have replaced the thought resources of Eastern and Western oppression with our own, we will be unable to achieve intellectual and practical independence.

This report indicates that in the continuation of the first day of the assembly, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hadi Khamene'i, the representative of the Majlis, also in a speech, pointed out that the Islamic revolution is a general revolution and every organization and group must create special revolutionary changes in itself.

He stressed the importance of the cultural dimension of the Islamic revolution and said: Since in the past, the army has been a special object of attention for the colonialist elements, cultural issues must be paid attention to before everything else in this complex.

He added: The great complex of the army requires positive changes. The framework of this action must follow the course of the Islamic revolution.

He added: The beginning point of that revolution which is particular to the army is assembling. Many of the officials have realized this idea and understood its necessity. In conclusion, pointing out that the self-sufficiency crusade is not merely talk, but a meaningful concept, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i expressed hope that with the cooperation and compassion of the brother officials, all of our people will taste the sweet fruits of this desirable movement.

According to this report, after the speech of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hadi Khamene'i, Dr Naraqi, of the Atomic Energy Organization, spoke on the relationship between the air force and atomic energy as well as (physic plasma). The IRNA report indicates that the air force assembly self-sufficiency crusade will continue for seven days.

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SEMINAR PLANNED TO INTRODUCE ISLAMIC JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 8 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Justice Habibi by AHVAZ CENTRAL NEWS UNIT on or around 6 Oct 84 in Khuzestan Province]

[Text] Ahvaz. The Supreme Judicial Council has decided to hold an international seminar to introduce the Islamic judicial system throughout the world.

Habibi, the minister of justice, who had traveled to the Province of Khuzestan to participate in the 'Ashura ceremonies at the fronts and to visit the Islamic combatants, announced this statement in an exclusive interview with the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT. Referring to his observations on the war fronts as well as various issues concerning the Justice Department, he said: In the course of my three-day visit to the operational areas of the south, we went to the centers and areas where the armies and the brave troupes of Islam are stationed, greeted the combatants, and spoke with them on various issues, considering the blessed days of Tasu'a and 'Ashura and the uprising of Hoseyn. The morale of all the combative brothers was high and all insisted that they have the high combat readiness to strike the final blow against the worn infidel supporters of Saddam, that they are prepared to continue the battle to ultimate victory and the fall of the Zionist Saddam, and that on these great days, they are fully prepared to fight like Hoseyn to establish a government of justice and equity in Iraq.

Continuing this interview, Habibi referred to the objections and criticism of the judicial system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which for the first time will be implemented on the basis of Islam and said: Some of the judicial circles of the world have been disturbed about the judicial system which is going to be implemented. The objections and criticisms which thus far have been academic are now becoming more practical and have changed to hostilities. He said: The exact reason for this situation stems from practical ignorance, because they have not studied all parts

of it. But the procedures can be understood when the system is implemented. The Islamic judicial system has not been implemented anywhere in the world. Western jurists express general views based on secondary information and a superficial understanding of Islamic law. These views are baseless and without substance.

The minister of justice referred in this interview to other claims connected with the judicial system of Islam and said:

The Western legal experts also say that the Islamic judicial system is essentially not a system. In other words, it is not a collection and set [of laws] that can respond to all problems, whereas those Western legal experts who have studied comparative law find Islamic jurisprudence one of several legal systems.

Habibi emphasized: The Islamic judicial system has not been carefully studied; therefore, the criticisms made of this system are illogical and superficial.

He added: In this area, the Supreme Judicial Council has decided to hold an international judicial seminar, preparations for which are being hurriedly made.

The minister of justice also called for those who have written articles, pamphlets, and books on Islamic law to send their publications and research to the scholar's committee to be discussed in the seminar.

In the conclusion of this interview with the AHVAZ CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, Habibi referred to other works in regards to research which will result in activity and the growth of jurisprudence in the Islamic Republic of Iran and said: A series of technical and specialized activities is being carried out in the legal and technical center of the Justice Department along with the ministerial office or the present executive-administrative organization of the Justice Department in the areas of research and writing laws. We intend to publish a solid, specialized magazine concerned with Islamic law and the judicial issues of the country with the cooperation of the faculty of law and the theological center.

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CSO: 4640/67

STATISTICAL DATA ON ECONOMIC, SANITARY DECLINE REVIEWED

London KEYHAN in Persian 18 Oct 84 p 8

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr. Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] For many years, in studying the world, the superpowers have published statistics having to do with themselves, as if the rest of the world did not exist! With the awakening of older nations and the liberation of colonialized territory, a tendency to stand up to bullies and understand the Third World has emerged in the world. The turning point in this new attitude seems to have come in 1975, with the result that from then until now, of 163 countries of the world, about 130 countries have grouped into a loose solidarity in the Southern camp, the remainder in the Northern camp. Since that time the "South," as a new "bloc," has come to have its own figures and statistics. Perhaps it has been due to reviews of these same figures and numbers that long-term plans comparing the "North" and the "South" have appeared on the desks of the powers of the world.

For most of the people of the world, statistics are nothing more than collections of mute figures, which do not tell a detailed story to the ordinary person on the first reading, but if these figures are translated into ordinary language, many trends of advancement, stagnation, and in some cases regression are seen in the countries of the world. Recently a collection of statistics has come to hand pertaining to countries in the South, using data from reliable "Northern" sources such as the annual report of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, or studies from the London Center for Economic Studies and other such organizations. The two main sections which have to do with Iran are presented for readers below. In the first section a highly distilled picture of the country's economic situation in relation to the social life of the people is presented. The second section contains information on hygiene and the quality of life in Iran. Both are studies of the six-year period between 1357 [21 March 1978] and the end of 1362 [20 March 1984].

The economic situation in Tables One and Two may be summarized as follows:

A look at the increase in the statistics shows that the population of Iran has increased by around six million during the past five years. The buying power of the rial at official rates has decreased in relation to the dollar. To

whatever extent circulating currency notes were backed until 1979, after 1980 billions of rials in currency came on the market without backing. If the rate of inflation for production and expenses was following international trends at the end of the 70s, at the beginning of the 80s, when this figure had declined in most of the countries of the world, Iran had one of the highest rates of inflation in the world. During this period exports decreased by 60 percent, while imports show approximately a 30 percent increase. In other words, after 20 years, Iran's balance of trade has once again collapsed to the detriment of the nation.

In Table Two, a look at the level of production of primary materials shows that the reduced income is not solely a matter of the war and petroleum exports, but is in general the result of the government's way of handling the production of heavy industrial materials.

Today a population with mostly reduced incomes and an industry that is on the verge of stopping must thus endure life in Iran. If we take the 1978 figure of \$1,240 as the standard, we will see that under present conditions, and in adjusted terms after considering figures on the trade imbalance and the reduced buying power of the rial, the annual per capita income has dropped to \$338. Thus Iran, which had the 17th largest per capita income in 1978, now has the 93rd largest. More importantly, if every Iranian spent only one-eighth of his annual income in 1978 for the purchase of goods, today he must turn his entire annual income over to the merchants to buy the same goods. In other words, in terms of buying power, the true rate of inflation in 5 years was 800 percent!

One of the first effects of this regression may be observed in the state of the country's health care and medical services. Table Three presents a comparative study of the condition of the country's population with regard to health care.

A brief look at this table shows how the destruction of the underpinnings of health care and medical services in a modern society can not only check the progress of its people towards prosperity and a better life; indeed the slightest pause in this progress in the world at large causes a rapid drop in the standards of health care.

The Return of Disease

Numerous articles have appeared on the return of malaria to Iran, both in this publication and in other news sources. What has happened to health care in the country has therefore not been concealed from careful observers, but the above table gives another view and shows a deeper dimension. With the reduction in medical services and increases in the birth rate, on the one hand the country's population is increasing disproportionately, and on the other hand food shortages are being created, along with limited medical care. As a result, at a time when life expectancies are increasing in the world, the average life span in Iran declines every year at the close of the 20th century!

The above table shows that the people of Iran are not only living four years less than five years ago, but that in comparison with the past, 44 percent go to bed hungry at night. This may be directly related to the decline of the agricultural infrastructure, the haphazard manner of distributing foodstuffs, and finally the astonishing cost of food.

All of these factors have resulted in Iran giving up its advanced position among the countries of the "South" with regard to health and medical care; it has fallen from the group of countries with a "suitable health care system" to those with a "malfunctioning health care system."

Table Four ranks 65 countries of the third world in the provision of health and medical care for their societies.

A review of countries in the same groups will show the overall status of the level of world progress in various countries on social and economic matters.

It is interesting that members of the third group are all notably poor countries from the South without raw materials. One must ask what a country like Iran is doing in that group, with its oil, gas, iron ore, lead, uranium, and abundant copper, and what, other than malfunctioning and incompetence in the government, has thrown it into this decline?

Where everyone is trying to pull themselves out of the abyss and sewer of famine and disease, it will not be long before we are ranked with Mali and Moldavia.

Table One: The Country's Economic Situation in Relation to Population

Year	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Total Population (In Millions)	35.73	36.94	37.45	39.32	40.51	41.76
Official Dollar Conversion Rate	70.475	70.475	70.475	70.45	84.93	93.25
International Backing In Dollars (Excluding Gold)	11,977	15,210	15,395	*	*	*
Currency in Circulation (Billions of Rials)	889	1,280	16,711	2,342	*	*
Rate of Inflation of Production Expenses (1975=100)	140	160	216	262	338	*
Exports (Millions of Dollars)	22,168	19,130	13,428	10,300	†8,205	*
Petroleum Products	21,769	18,382	12,970	9,600	†8,100	*
Imports (Millions of Dollars)	9,195	8,695	8,521	10,447	†12,000	*

*Officials declined to provide statistics;†approximate figures based on existing data

Table Two: Production of Raw Materials

Year	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Oil (Millions of Barrels Daily)	3.1	3.17	1.47	1.32	†1.3	*
Gas (Millions of Cubic Meters)	52,030	22,500	*	*	*	*
Iron Ore (Thousands of Tons)	1,000	900	371	†123	*	*

*Officials declined to provide statistics;†approximate figures based on existing data

Table Three: Population and Health Care

year	1978	1983
Infant Death Rate	8.3 percent	11 percent
Average Life Span	62 years	58 years
Rate of Population Increase	2.4 percent	3.1 percent
Daily Per Capita Calorie Intake Compared to World Average	25 percent plus	14 percent plus

Ratio of Physicians to Population one per 1,100 one per 4,300

Table Four: Rankings of Countries of the South in the Provision of Health and Medical Care

Group 6	Health and Medical Care at a High Level Compared to the Industrial World: Argentina, Barbados, Cuba, Yugoslavia.
Group 5	Health and Medical Care at a Normal Level Compared to the Industrial World: United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Panama, Jamaica, Cyprus, South Korea, North Korea, Costa Rica, Kuwait, Mexico, Venezuela.
Group 4	Health and Medical Care at a Level Desirable for Developing Countries: Brazil, Belize, Trinidad, Tunisia, China, The Dominican Republic, Syria, Chile, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Columbia, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Egypt, Maurice Island (in 1978 Iran was in this group).
Group 3	Health and Medical Care at an Unacceptable Level for Developing Countries: Algeria, Jordan, El Salvador, Burma, Peru, Thailand, Zimbabwe, Lesotho Marrakesh, and Iran (1983).
Group 2	Limited Health and Medical Care: Indonesia, Bolivia, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Ceylon, Ghana, The Philippines, Cameroun, The Congo, Guatemala, India, and Vietnam.
Group 1	Insignificant Health and Medical Care: Uganda, Bangladesh, Borondi, Benin, Laos, and Mozambique.
Group 0	Lacking Medical and Health Care: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Mali, and Moldavia.

9310

CSO: 4640/80

SAUDIS REPORTEDLY NOTIFY PILGRIMS TO LEAVE COUNTRY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 Sep 84 p 27

[Text] According to an official notice, the Saudi government has threatened pilgrims to leave Saudi soil as soon as possible.

Based on this notice, foreign pilgrims are threatened if they stay more than the prescribed time set by Saudi officials and they will be detained, fined and deported.

According to an IRNA report from Medina, the ARAB NEWS in Saudi Arabia in its Tuesday issue has printed a summary of this notice. This notice, in addition to threatening foreign pilgrims, also warned Saudi citizens that lodging and helping foreign pilgrims who would like to stay a few days longer in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina is considered an offense. The offender will receive severe punishment, be fined, or imprisoned. It is worthy to mention that Saudi officials have restricted pilgrims from visiting religious historic cities and those regions which have been the site of Islam and witnessed the growth of the Islamic movement, and will absolutely not issue any permit for pilgrims to visit these regions.

IRNA reminds us that in this threatening and rude notice, contrary to all previous notices from Saudi officials--who unfortunately administer and control the Haj affairs in the absence of an Islamic Council--where in their propaganda they constantly call themselves the servants of God and the two holy sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina, and consider pilgrims the guests of God, for the first time, have abandoned such attributes for themselves.

9815

CSO: 4640/33

COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE WITH BRAZIL INCREASED

Tehran BURS in Persian 24 Sep 84 p 5

[Text] On the eighth day of Tehran's tenth international trade exhibition, Brazil's national day was celebrated in the presence of Mr (Reynaldo Murais Esmul), the director of the Near East bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federative Republic of Brazil, and Pedramnia, general director of the Islamic countries and Third World group of the Ministry of Commerce of our country, and also with the participation of a number of the officials and operators on location at the exhibition. According to an IRNA report, in these ceremonies, first Mr (Reynaldo Murais Esmul) gave a message of the friendship of the nation and government of Brazil to the people and government of Iran and, referring to the relations between the two countries over the past four years, he said: It is fortunate that despite the existing economic problems in the developing countries, trade between Iran and Brazil has increased consistently since 1980. He said: Brazil started importing oil from Iran in 1982 and Iran in turn has increased the import of various goods from Brazil, becoming one of Brazil's major trade partners. He added: The figures of the last few years show that Iran's exports to Brazil have reached \$390 million and Brazil's exports to Iran have reached an unprecedented \$350 million. In conclusion, he pointed out that these figures indicating the balance of trade between the two countries show that the possibility exists for the expansion of trade relations between them. According to this report, Mr Pedramnia, the general director of the Islamic and Third World countries group of the Ministry of Commerce of our country, then congratulated the Federative Republic of Brazil on its national day and expressed hope that the participation of Brazil in this exhibition will result in the expansion of trade and economic relations between the two countries. He added: The Islamic Republic of Iran, independent of any of the domineering powers and with reliance on the vital instructions of Islam and the self-sacrifice of its people alone, has been able to attain great victories in the political, military, and economic battle fronts.

TRADE WITH USSR INCREASED TO 1.2 BILLION DOLLARS

Tehran BURS in Persian 23 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] In a press conference at the permanent location of the exhibition, the trade manager of the Soviet pavilion and the director of commerce of that country in Iran, along with several officials of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran, expressed their views concerning trade between the two countries, transportation of goods, and the Soviet pavilion in Tehran's tenth international trade exhibition. In this interview, first the trade manager of the Soviet pavilion referred to the equality of rights, mutual interests and the important role that this undertaking plays in the economic relations between the two countries and said:

The volume of trade between the two countries, which was about \$640 million in 1979, increased to \$1.2 billion last year. He said: In the course of this trade, the Soviet Union has exported machinery for the steel mill factories and the thermal power stations of Ahvaz and Esfahan, as well as steel, chemical material, and other goods to Iran. In exchange, it has purchased caviar, dried fruits, henna, minerals, fabrics, shoes, and oil from Iran.

He then said that the Soviet Union is one of the countries which participated in Iran's first international exhibition after the Islamic revolution in 1980. He referred to the Soviet pavilion in the tenth international exhibition and said: In this exhibition, 16 trading companies have exhibited 1,000 samples of their goods, and in the course of the past few days, we have been able to sign contracts with Iran for the sale of \$10 million worth of goods.

Then, in regards to the transport of goods between the two countries, he said: Making use of the system for the transportation of goods from the Soviet Union to Iran has the advantage that European and Japanese goods reach this country by sea and railroads more rapidly and safely. He pointed out: On the basis of an agreement signed in 1980, in the course of 4 years, a total of 11 million tons of goods needed by you has been

transported to Iran, of which 5 million tons was transported in 1983. Of this amount, 1.3 million tons involved transportation and 3.7 transit.

In regards to the contracts between the two countries, another official said: On the basis of a contract signed in 1963 between Iran and the USSR, the two countries began technical cooperation, part of which included the creation of a dam on the Aras River and the construction of silos. He referred to the contract for the creation of a steel mill and said: This factory was developed in 1968 to increase its production from 550,000 tons to 2 million tons of steel by next year.

10,000

CSO: 4640/69

ARMENIAN PRELATE COMMENTS ON TERRORISM, SCHOOLS

First Part of Interview

GF161535 Tabriz Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Oct 84

[Interview with Pakrad Melkonian, prelate of the Armenian diocese of Azerbaijan, by KEYHAN correspondent--read by announcer; date, place not given]

[Text] The honorable Pakrad Melkonian, prelate of Azerbaijan Armenian diocese, in his recent interview with the KEYHAN daily published in Tehran, criticized the rumors about the problem of Armenian schools. In that interview the honorable priest referred to the activities of the Armenians and their contribution to the course of the revolution and the imposed war, and said: The Armenians, who are considered a member of this country's big family, put the defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran over everything and consider this the most holy purpose.

The honorable priest first talked about the imposed war and the cooperation displayed by the Armenians. He said: Some Armenians live in various cities of Azerbaijan--with Tabriz at the center--which is called the diocese of the Armenians in Azerbaijan. Since the beginning of the revolution we struggled along with the Muslim brothers of Azerbaijan against the previous regime. We in turn have done our best in the question of the revolution's achievement of its aims. Fortunately, during the initial periods of the revolution we enjoyed the love of the country's leaders, particularly that of the Azerbaijan leaders, and have never been alone. We did not leave our brothers alone. We sent soldiers to the imposed war and now our soldiers are fighting against the enemy. We have also given martyrs to this war. Indeed, compared to the Armenians in Tehran, our martyrs are fewer. The graves of some of our martyrs are in Tehran. We also made financial contributions within the limits of our abilities. We are doing our tasks and the Armenian youths have never considered themselves foreigners. Even today their blood is being shed at the battlefronts along with their Muslim brothers. Many Armenians were killed in the streets or died due to the enemy shellings.

We wish long life to the respected Imam Khomeyni, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran and leader of the revolution, and we are 100 percent sure that victory in the imposed war will be ours. This war will end only after the downfall of the Saddamist regime.

Question: As you know, for centuries the Armenians in Iran have been living peacefully and cooperating with their compatriots and are not sparing any effort for the realization of the revolutionary targets and the imposed war. However, recently it seems that certain political groups are trying to sever the unbreakable ties between the Armenians and the Persians. One example is the group called Mesrob Mashdotz, which recently was liquidated. As the leader of the Armenians, what is your opinion?

Answer: First I will say that fortunately such a group does not exist in Azerbaijan and even if it exists we know nothing of it. But I am able to assure you that they have no activity in Azerbaijan. We sometimes hear or read that there is a group called Mesrob Mashdotz. How is it possible to tarnish the name of such a holy personality, who established the Armenian culture, and to carry out sabotage through the exploitation of that name or use it to create differences between the Armenians and the Muslim brothers? We would never tolerate such a thing. Neither my mind nor my soul can accept this or believe that they exist and are doing that in the interest of the Armenian culture and religion. The cultural matter is not a political one; we have nothing to do with politics. For centuries the Armenian people have lived with the people of this country and until today did not have any problems. Why do we want to create rumors?

I reiterate that fortunately we do not have any such groups in Azerbaijan and you are witness that there are none. The exploitation of Mesrob Mashdotz's name is causing concern to every Armenian and no person or group has the right to exploit this name.

Question: What is your opinion on terrorism or terrorist movements?

Answer: It is not clear to me what goals the terrorists pursue. International public order condemns terrorism. No terrorist under any name can be supported, and I condemn it. Even God considers bloodshed a sin. Today, when we are living in a religious country, how can we tolerate such things?

Question: What is your opinion on the problems of the Armenian schools, in which the hands of similar groups are sometimes playing and even are causing the closure of certain schools?

Answer: We Armenians are Iranian and are living in Iran. We have given our positive vote to the Islamic Republic of Iran, have participated in the elections of the leaders, and have even sent deputies to the Majlis. It is this same Majlis that established the basic law of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Thus, how can we ignore that law today? It is not possible. Therefore, when the basic law simply says that the official language of this country is Persian, the religion Islam, and the sect Shi'ite, it is natural that the books published by the Education Ministry should also be in Persian, that is, in the official language of the country. We do not have any objections in this matter. What are the rumors in this regard? We never had any rumors and will not have any. The

statement of the prime minister and the Education Ministry states that the minorities are able to learn their mother language and holy book for 2 hours per week, and if those 2 hours are not enough, then upon the desire of the students' families, the responsible schools authorities, and clergymen they are able to assign additional hours and learn their language and religion. If this is the case then why are there all these rumors? Recently, the prelate of the Armenian diocese of Tehran, Archbishop Ardashir Manoukian, signed an agreement in this regard. We also are going to sign such an agreement. In this matter we express our gratitude to the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Why have the Armenian schools in Tehran closed down? In my opinion there is no reason for this because the Islamic Republic of Iran has the necessary ability to implement the law. We feel the difficulties of the country. The country has been subjected to an economic boycott and war has been imposed on our country. Foreign radios are carrying anti-propagandist programs against the Islamic Republic of Iran. If today some people on foreign radios are talking about the Armenian schools did they perhaps ask us what difficulties we have? Did we give them the right to be our (?spokesmen)? I declare that we have no difficulties in the Islamic Republic of Iran. [passage indistinct]

Second Part of Interview

GF171323 Tabriz Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Oct 84

[Interview with Pakrad Melkonian, prelate of the Armenian diocese in Azerbaijan, by KEYHAN correspondent, part two--read by announcer; date, place not given]

[Text] Dear listeners, in our program last night we broadcast the first part of the interview with priest Melkonian, prelate of the Armenian diocese in Azerbaijan, with the correspondent of the KEYHAN newspaper published in Tehran. We now give you the continuation of the interview.

As we said yesterday night in that interview, the honorable father talked about a number of issues concerning the Armenians, particularly the question of the Armenian schools. He said: If anybody thinks that he is able to create disunity he is totally mistaken. Nobody has the right to control the people's destiny. It is the people themselves who are able to manage their destiny. Our people intend to work and suffer in this country. They have rights. During his meeting with religious minorities the imam said that each Iranian in this country has equal rights. No power can deviate us from the imam's path. We will stay on this path because after the revolution we felt what freedom really meant. We will not leave our positions; during the Iranians' joyous days we have been the friends of this country's people. Today we are also part of them as well as a part of the war. Who is able to create disunity between the majority Muslims and the minority Christians? We are all marching on God's path, and the purpose of religion is one. Even though the beliefs are different the path is the same.

We are not guests in this country. We are members of this family. I am surprised that you are asking about the difficulties of the schools. We do not have any difficulties. From the initial period of the revolution through today we have never had any difficulties with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Perhaps there are some who say that there is a desire to convert the minorities into Muslims but that is not so. As Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani has said: We wish that the Armenians' way of life will become an example to the other minorities of our country. We accept the promises of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Those promises are of great value to us, and if for some reason the politics of the Islamic Republic of Iran change, we will consider it our task to accept it. I do not believe that there is even one Armenian who wants to struggle against the Islamic Republic of Iran. This is a country that has accepted us with open arms. Our deputies are working in its Majlis. Even the Education Ministry has a special respect for our language and religion. There should be no more rumors in this regard. Can somebody who is able to enjoy all the advantages of the country have difficulties?

Concerning the school difficulties, recently the representatives of the three dioceses met with the representative of the government. I also participated in that meeting. During that meeting it was said that the students in the Armenian schools are able to study language and religion 2 hours per week. It was decided to extend the period from 2 hours to 6 hours, that is, 1 hour per day. Our brothers promised to review this matter at the supreme education council.

I do not have too much information on problems in Tehran. This is Azerbaijan and fortunately we do not have complications here. I hope that we will not have them in the future either. If there are difficulties in Tehran the opportunity has been created to rectify the matters. First of all, the government's interests should be taken into consideration. The Armenians put the interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran above everything. I hope that the problems will be solved. I would like you to publish my words exactly as I say them so that there are no misunderstandings.

The correspondent asked if he would like to convey any message. Melkonian said: As a message by the Armenians of Azerbaijan, I would like to thank the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, from the highest-ranking personality to the most common laborer brother, who cooperate with us, understand us, and in some issues guide us. I pray for the long life of the precious imam and wish that mighty God will grant much life to him so that he sees the victory of the imposed war and the world knows that evil deeds have an end. I also hope that the dear imam, who is the hope of the world's oppressed, will some day become the oppressed people's torch bearer.

Finally, I have one message for the Armenian students. I ask them to follow their studies seriously, continue their education, become useful personalities for the country, and respect all the laws of the Education Ministry.

WOMEN REPORTEDLY RECEIVE MILITARY TRAINING

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS REVISTA in Portuguese 21 Oct 84 p 23

[Article by Parviz Naghib: "The 'Angels of Allah'"]

[Text] Iran has opened an unprecedented campaign to recruit women for its army in the context of a renewed determination to "liquidate atheists in Islam" in its "Holy War" against Iraq. These women, who are mostly young volunteers, are being recruited in increasing numbers to "perfect combat tactics because, in the historic (Iranian) Islamic revolution, both men and women must defend Islam," said an announcer on a television program when he stated that various training camps for women have been established.

The program was aired on Iranian television on 16 February and showed women soldiers involved in rigorous training and firing practice. Zahra Rahnavard, wife of Iranian Prime Minister Musavi [as published], said on the program that "the training camps will prepare women soldiers and future martyrs for our objective of punishing the enemy, wherever he can be found." Zahra Rahnavard, who appeared on the program dressed in a "chador," left her position of editor of the feminist magazine BANOVAN in 1982 to devote all her time to the recruitment and training of women for the army. Ayatollah Khomeyni had been advocating the inclusion of women in the army for months, stating that it was authorized in the Koran as part of the "Jihad" (Holy War). Two weeks before the program was aired, Khomeyni had told the "wives and sisters of martyrs" that women's training is intended for the "liquidation of the atheists of Islam." A few days later, the newspaper KEYHAN announced that every mosque will have to contribute at least 25 military volunteers, of whom at least 8 will be women, who will undergo training on a 24-hour basis to join the reservists of the revolution.

Tehran alone has 3,200 mosques, which means that at least 25,600 women are already being trained for war. Women prepared in the camps are perfectly knowledgeable in the use of all types of arms, explosives and attack strategy, said Zahra Rahnavard on this same program. She added that among our sisters, there are dozens of European and American women who have been perfectly trained. They will be the ambassadors of our revolution in the West, not only to export Islamic values, but also to destroy our imperialist enemies. One British woman and one American woman also appeared on the program, stating that they supported the Iranian cause.

CLANDESTINE REPORTS ON EXECUTION OF SOVIET SPY

GF241512 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 24 Oct 84

[Text] A Soviet spy has been executed in Iran. According to the Radio Nejat-e Iran correspondent, Morteza Babakhani, son of Rahim Babayev, who was one of the oldest Soviet spies in Iran, and whose (?criminal) activities had been discovered during the investigation and trial of Tudeh Party leaders and members as working for Iran's northern neighbors during the Khomeyni revolution, has been handed over to the firing squad.

According to the same report, Morteza Babakhani for many years acted as a liaison between official Soviet circles and the Tudeh Party. He was (?earlier) arrested while trying to reach Soviet territory.

Due to a lack of adequate evidence, he was at that time sentenced to only 3 years in prison and after his release suddenly (?disappeared).

The Nejat-e Iran correspondent further reported that Morteza Babakhani was seen several times in Tehran and Gilan just before the events of Bahman [21 January to 19 February] of 1978. And during the riots in Iran which were engineered by the Tudeh Party elements in Tehran and in other Iranian cities Babayev played an important and effective role. He was also supervising and coordinating financial support, the supplying of material for destructive activities, and the spread of communist propaganda at Tehran University. After the dissolution of the Tudeh Party last year and the arrest of its leaders by the Khomeyni regime, (?Amu'i), member of the Central Committee, and two members of the military wing of the Tudeh Party, during interrogations in Evin Prison and during their trial at the military court (?on several occasions) mentioned Morteza Babakhani as an officer in the party's (?clandestine) organization.

The arrest of Babakhani took place under special arrangements after he had hidden himself in the residence of a foreign diplomat. After his arrest and interrogations, he confessed to having been a spy for 22 years.

The latest inquest, trial, and final execution of Morteza Babakhani which took place (?3 weeks) ago. The regime's news media and its judicial organization have been completely silent on this matter. Apparently the reason for this secretiveness by the regime was to prevent interference by the Soviets and other countries tied to the Soviet Union who at present have friendly relations with the clerics in Tehran.

CSO: 4640/90

CLANDESTINE RADIO DISCUSSES RECENT OFFENSIVE

GF200850 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 19 Oct 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The latest attack by the Islamic Republic of Iran on Iraq has reached an impasse. The occupationist Tehran radio broadcasts news of the grand victories of the Islamic armies. The plan for the ouster of Israel from the United Nations, proposed by the mullahs' regime representative, has not even made it to the UN General Assembly agenda. Despite this the regime continues to announce news of grandiose victories.

The Abadan representative in the mullahs' Majlis speaks of the war refugees, of course, of the imposed war, and says that houses have been destroyed, homes have been abandoned, and [words indistinct]. Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the mullahs' president, says that those who think that if the war did not occur (?industry) would have made more progress are laboring under a delusion. The former communist and unturbaned, uncloaked clergyman of today, Behzad Nabavi, says that the war had a positive and constructive effect on the nation's industry. Will someone ask him if the imposed war, which has brought so many so-called blessings and bounties for the repressed people of Iran, was not imposed what would happen? Instead of 500,000 people killed it would have resulted in the killing of millions. Instead of 1 million disabled, there would have been 10 million disabled in the country. Instead of hundreds of crutches and wheelchairs we would have ordered millions of these.

Compatriots. If the profligate and accursed regime has laid the blame of all shortages and misfortune on the imposed war, today it seems the (?concept) of war has changed. [passage indistinct] If in its previous attacks, the regime was able to rapidly send huge waves of youngsters and youths to the warfronts, it cannot do so today. For months it has had to muster some manpower and a limited amount of arms and ammunition. Those who say that the offensive was delayed for tactical reasons are liars. While the valiant and patriotic armed forces of Iran have no say in the planning of the attacks or supervision of the programs, it can be said safely that what is missing from the war on the part of Iran is tactics and strategy. The leader of Islam, the supreme commander of the armed forces, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, chief of the Defense Council, and the imam's representative therein, Sheykh 'ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, should be asked where did they receive military training that they talk of strategy and tactics in war?

NVOI ASSAILS REGIME'S POLICY TOWARD ARMENIANS

TA170728 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 17 Oct 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Please pay attention to this news item in the 16 August 1984 edition of KEYHAN:

An informed official at the Ministry of Education said: This year the Armenian minority did not accept the book of religious education in Persian, the study of the Bible in Persian and examinations in Persian, and announced that this is contrary to their religious affairs. They engaged in certain acts that forced us to close down a number of Armenian schools. They say that these questions are inconsistent with their faith and religion. Therefore, not only will there be no make-up examination for these individuals and they will receive failing marks, but such schools will not be allowed to open in the next academic year.

Only several days ago the government's representative also officially announced that if the Armenian minority refuses to take examinations in the Persian language, to teach the Bible and give tests on it in Persian, its members will not be accepted in schools.

All of us are aware that the Armenian minority has been living in our homeland for many centuries, and it rightly considers Iran as its homeland. The Armenian minority has had a significant role in the development of Iranian economy, industry, art and culture. Among other things the active and effective role of Armenians in bringing the popular anti-imperialist revolution of 11 February to victory is documented in history. The Armenian minority, shoulder to shoulder with its other Iranian brothers, is participating directly in all affairs of life. Particularly, they attach deep respect to the religious beliefs of the majority of Muslims residing in Iran. For this reason, the demand of the Armenian minority to respect their religious beliefs, culture and language is justified and natural.

However, the Islamic regime's superficial, monopolist and fanatic rulers--most of whom participated directly in drafting and ratifying the Islamic Republic's constitution--do not want to grant the slightest right to the

Armenian minority residing in our homeland. They do not recognize its religion, language and culture, so much so that they want Armenians living in Iran to carry out their religious rites in Persian, and to study religious teachings from a book that they themselves prepared for the Armenian minority in Persian. For some time now this issue has been transformed into a problem for Armenians living in our homeland, and has deprived them of the potential to live in the Islamic regime in the true sense of the word.

The closing down of Armenian schools in the towns of our country, the prohibition of teaching of religious principles and standards in the Armenian language, as well as the use of books in the Armenian language, are among developments which are well known not only to our homeland's people but also to the people of the world. So far they have repeatedly expressed their strong protests against this coercion, injustice and violation of the law. Now, the official acknowledgment of this matter by the Islamic regime's official authorities leaves no doubt at all, even among the most optimistic and naive individuals, that the Islamic regime ruling in our homeland is not bound by any law or regulation except the law of the jungle.

What is of no concern at all to the rulers of this regime is culture, literature and art, whether that of the Armenians or Persians or other peoples residing in our homeland. One cannot call this act by the disgraced rulers of the Islamic regime by any other name except crude and open violation of the constitution, and overt hostility toward the culture, literature, art, customs, traditions and religious beliefs of the people residing in our homeland.

CSO: 4640/88

LARGE NUMBER OF YOUTHS FLEEING COUNTRY

TA182024 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 18 Oct 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear compatriots: The terrorist and destructive policy of the Islamic Republic's leaders, their obstinacy and intransigence in prolonging the U.S.-sponsored war, and consequently the slaughter of our homeland's youth, have caused a large number of our compatriots, particularly youths, to emigrate. The number of youths who have sought to leave Iran is so great that emigration from that country is now seen as a general trend.

One of the countries to which Iranians escape is Pakistan where thousands of them have sought refuge. In order not to strain relations with Iran's Islamic regime, officials of Ziaul Haq's regime have tried to hide this fact. The number of escapees from the terror of the Islamic government to Pakistan is so great that the representative of the UN High Commissioner for refugees has put the number in the thousands but this is only a small part of the refugees; a considerable number of our compatriots who have been forced to emigrate from the homeland are living secretly in Pakistan. They refuse to register their names and identify their nationality and citizenship.

Reportedly, after entering Pakistan, a considerable number of these individuals leave for other countries where they seek refuge. Observers note that the main group of those who escape from our country consists of youths who have risen against the Islamic regime's betrayal of the revolution, and who have no personal security under the conditions of terror and repression that the ruthless leaders of this regime have imposed on our country. Also, the prolongation of the war is one of the main reasons why Iranian youths have fled the country. Unemployment and problems and obstacles encountered by the people, particularly our homeland's young generation in obtaining an education, are other reasons why Iranians are fleeing the country.

Iran's Islamic regime, which has sacrificed the revolution and its gains at the feet of accumulators of wealth, major capitalists, large landowners, the imperialists, and first and foremost British and U.S. imperialism, by its policy of destroying Iran, has turned the country into a large prison of the toiling masses and a graveyard for the young generation.

The scandal of the terrorist policy of the Islamic regime's leaders is such that the people have become fed up, so much so that they prefer to escape to a country like Pakistan rather than stay in the Islamic paradise built by the Islamic regime's superstitious rulers. We need say nothing about the droves of Iranians who have escaped to other countries of the world, particularly to Western countries. It is in this respect that our homeland's people rightly compare the Islamic regime with the despised Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea which did not hesitate to slaughter the people and whose ominous fate is well known to everyone.

Needless to say that fleeing the country is one of the ways to achieve salvation from the bloody clutches of the Islamic regime. However, the great majority of the people, including the youths, are rightly choosing to struggle against this regime in the country. It is not without reason that the struggle against this fascist-theocratic regime is slowly developing a wider scope. The Islamic regime's terror and repression cannot deter the people's struggles. Many of the patriotic revolutionary forces are reaching the right conclusion that a unified and organized struggle within a united popular front is essential in order to save Iran and the people from the domination of the Islamic tyrannical and bloodsucking rulers. Therefore, despite the Islamic regime's terror and police persecution, the Iranian people's liberation struggle is taking form. It is out of fear of the expansion and escalation of these struggles that the Islamic regime is taking further steps toward cooperation and association with reactionary regimes and imperialism. However, the ruthless and bloodsucking Islamic rulers should not forget the ominous and tragic fate of the shah's oppressive regime.

CSO: 4640/87

OPPOSITION PAPER ON EDUCATION IN IRAN

GF181254 London KEYHAN in Persian 11 Oct 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Education and Training--Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] Anyone who has been an observer of the start of the academic year will naturally compare today's conditions in our oppressed country with those of the past. Five years after the revolution of the ayatollahs, the number of schoolchildren has decreased by 22 percent in cities and 40 percent in villages. Even the compulsory education law which was approved nearly half a century ago is no longer carried out.

Some members of the Islamic Majlis evidently have noticed that destroying the foundations of education in the country is the desire of some of the Islamic Republic officials who would like Iran to be lowly, poor, and illiterate. They have produced certain disquieting figures which on their own are sufficient to convict the current regime.

Our purpose here is not to discuss statistics. The facts and figures are perfectly clear. Nearly 5 million Iranian children are deprived of an education. More than 1 million Iranian children and youth are unable to receive a high school education. The girls are more deprived than boys in this field as in other areas, and if this situation continued, more than 65 percent of the future mothers of Iran will be illiterate. Thousands of schools have been closed and 65,000 teachers and over 5,000 lecturers have been "purged." Free education, which was one of the factors taken for granted by Iranian people, has been discontinued and now with every step and by various excuses people are made to give money. Considering the purchasing power of the currency, the budget for education is half of what it was before the revolution; and even then it was not enough.

The problem of quantity of education has its own place. What is worrying is the method of education in the Islamic Republic. Ayatollah Nadi, a member of the Islamic Majlis, says: "The situation has become sad." He was clearly regretting the past, which he himself possibly had a part in destroying. However, he is not brave enough to point the finger of accusation at those liars who painted such a black picture of the Iran of yesterday since this would also make him a target. Nadi and his

friends who are indirectly praising the Iran of the past are not brave enough to say: A society which was destroyed by lies, pretence, and plots against the nation was not constructed by a particular person or group but was the result of hard work and suffering of numerous generations.

They do not have the power and bravery to say that destroying and dirtying the names of tens of thousands of hard-working, loving teachers and tutors who were running our schools and universities, to the best of their abilities, and were opening the windows to the present world for our children and youth, was and is part of an inauspicious plan of the black dictatorship to destroy the peace of mind of the Iranian nation.

It was necessary for the black oppression to destroy and dirty the names of our teachers and lecturers in order to be able to force onto the masses in Iran its educational methods, which are based on idol worship and blind-heartedness, and return to the Middle Ages. However, human beings are able to compare and recognize and, sooner or later, they will start to compare their own experiences. The beginning of this comparison is the start of the forming of a system of values, and people who have a system of values will eventually act to protect their freedom, honor, and integrity from any harm.

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BRIEFS

WORK FOR PRISONERS--Qom. The Islamic revolution prosecutor of Esfahan, along with assistant prosecutors, interrogators, and several Shar' magistrates of that province met and spoke with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri. In this meeting, referring to the sensitivity and the delicacy of the work of prosecutors, which is in fact the preliminary ground work for adjudication by judges in the courts, he offered detailed reminders concerning the treatment of passengers in the airports and accused persons in prisons, avoiding uncalled-for harshness and increased numbers of prisoners for no reason, identifying deserving persons to grant them pardons, and reporting it to the imam's appointed committee or the Supreme Judicial Council. Concerning persons eligible for pardon who are released from prisons, he stressed: The Prosecutor's Offices must make arrangements for such individuals who are released from prisons so that they are once again able to engage in jobs that they were doing previously, with the exception, of course, of vital work, in order not to feel alienated from the society. Otherwise, they will become paralyzed and parasitic members of the society and develop complexes with dangerous consequences. In my opinion, if the concerned officials and particularly the Prosecutors' Offices and the admission officials were to return such individuals to their work in the establishments and factories or to the universities and high schools to study and allow them to work while keeping them under observation for a period of time in order to make certain, and if in the course of their work they commit any deviation, to dismiss them, this would not harm or endanger the country, the revolution, or the society. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Oct 84 p 2] 10,000

SUICIDE AIRCRAFT IN GULF--The Radio Nejat-e Iran has received a report that in connection with the deployment of some small suicide aircraft for the purpose of creating fear and terror in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, the Islamic Republic has stationed 25 (Pilakov) airplanes--10 of which have been purchased recently--at Bandar 'Abbas airport. These aircraft carry only one pilot and a large quantity of incendiary material. They can be used to carry out all kinds of subversive operations and attacks on vessels and ports, as well as on oil installations in the region. The Iranian regime had earlier threatened to attack the presidential palace and some sensitive areas of Baghdad by means of suicide aircraft. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 19 Oct 84]

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